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JOHN BUNYAN

HIS LIFE
TIMES
AND WORK

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First Edition, November 1885; Reprinted May 1886.
Second Edition, November 1887.
Reprinted February 1888; September 1890; February 1900.
Third Edition, in Two Volumes, September 1902.



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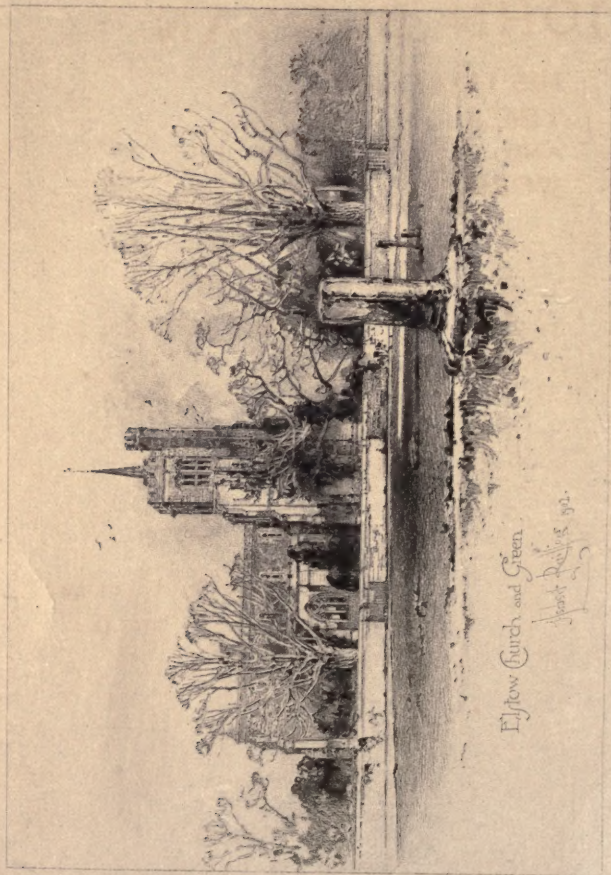
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JOHN BURTON

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME



Elstow Church and Green

Wm. H. Stiles del.

JOHN BUNYAN

HIS LIFE
TIMES
AND
WORK

By

JOHN BROWN D.D.

*Minister of the Bunyan
Church, Bedford*

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

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HERBERT RAILTON*

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XI

THE "PILGRIM'S PROGRESS"

"As I walked through the wilderness of this world I lighted upon a certain place where was a Den, and I laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept I dreamed a dream." These words, which open for us the story of the Pilgrim, suggest to the majority of its readers the culminating point of interest in Bunyan's life. It may be well, therefore, to try to settle, if we can, the place of the den and the time of the dream.

That the "Pilgrim's Progress" was written in prison we have on the highest authority of all, that of Bunyan himself. When the third, which was the first complete, edition of the book appeared in 1679, by the side of the word "den" in the text he placed the explanatory words "the Jail" in the margin. This evidence is of course conclusive, even if we had not, as we have, contemporary testimony to the effect that the Dream was a prison book. But the inquiry is not without interest as to what gaol it was and to what imprisonment these words refer. As previously mentioned, it has become one of the commonplaces

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of literature that the great allegory was written during Bunyan's twelve years' imprisonment. If so, it was written in the county gaol, for, as we have seen, the evidence is conclusive that the writer could not have spent twelve years in the prison on Bedford bridge; yet, on the other hand, the old tradition, which had come down from most reliable authorities, confidently asserted that Bunyan was confined in the prison on the bridge and that he there wrote the "Pilgrim's Progress." Is there any way of reconciling these seeming opposites? I think it will be found there is, and that a careful examination of all the evidence points to the conclusion that three years after his twelve years' imprisonment was over, Bunyan was again in prison during the spring and summer of 1676; that this time he was a prisoner in the Town gaol on Bedford bridge; and that it was during this later imprisonment he wrote his memorable dream.

Let us first see what reason there is for supposing that Bunyan was again in gaol three years after his release in 1672, and after he had been for that length of time the pastor of the Bedford Church. That there was a later imprisonment was placed beyond doubt, though the date of it was left uncertain. For the friend who tells us that he paid Bunyan a visit in gaol during his long imprisonment tells us also that that imprisonment was divided into two parts, of six years each, with a brief interval between the parts, and that when the second six years was ended, "another short affliction, which was an imprisonment of half a year, fell to his share." To the same

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purpose Charles Doe relates that "they put him in prison a third time, but that proved but for about half a year." These writers give us no clue to the date of this third imprisonment; but we have, however, decisive evidence on the point.

In the first edition of the present work, published in 1885, the theory was first advanced that this later imprisonment took place in 1676, and that during that time the "Pilgrim's Progress" was written. In 1887, or two years later, the Chauncy Collection of Autographs came to the hammer in London, and among them was found the original warrant for Bunyan's arrest, dated the fourth of March, 1675 (New Style 1676), the year that was supposed. It was addressed: "To the Constables of Bedford," and stated that notwithstanding the king's "clemencie and indulgent grace and favour yett one John Bunnion of your said towne, Tynker, hath divers times within one month last past in contempt of his Maj^{ties} good laws preached or taught at a Conventicle meeteing or assembly under colour or pretence of exercise of Religion in other manner than according to the Liturgie or Practice of the Church of England. These are therefore in his Maj^{ties} name to command you forthwith to apprehend and bring the Body of the said John Bunnion beefore us or any of us his Maj^{ties} Justice of Peace within the said county to answer the premises." There are the names of thirteen magistrates attached to this warrant, among them being that of Bunyan's old enemy, William Foster, who was probably the main mover in the matter.

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Then, again, that same year, the month he was arrested, Bunyan published a little book in Catechetical form, entitled "Instruction for the Ignorant." Its prefatory dedication runs thus: "To the Church of Christ in and about Bedford, walking in the Faith and Fellowship of the Gospel, your affectionate brother and companion *in the Kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ*, wisheth all grace and mercy by Jesus Christ." He goes on to say that though he has designed this treatise for public and common benefit, yet "by reason of special bonds which the Lord hath laid upon me to you-ward, I could do no less *being driven from you in presence, not in affection*, but first present you with this little book." He signs himself, "yours to serve you by my ministry *when I can* to your edification and consolation, John Bunyan." It is difficult to attach any other meaning to these words than that when he wrote them he was once more in prison. The book was probably finished before his arrest, and only the dedication written after he was in gaol.

The assumption of a later imprisonment at this time has this in its favour also that it removes a discrepancy which has always been felt to be a difficulty in the story of Bunyan's life. The contemporary writer, to whom reference had been made, tells us that "after this blessed man had suffered twelve years' imprisonment for the testimony of a good conscience, and stopt the mouths of his greatest enemies by his holy, harmless, and inoffensive conversation, it pleased God to stir up the heart of Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, to be a means of

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his deliverance, which I mention to this bishop's honour." Now we happen to know, from an independent source, that Barlow did actually interfere on Bunyan's behalf, and that it was John Owen, the great Nonconformist divine who, at the instigation of some Bedford neighbour of Bunyan, first moved the bishop on his behalf. Barlow had been Owen's tutor at Queen's College, Oxford, as far back as 1630, and in the Commonwealth days was librarian of the Bodleian and Provost of Queen's when Owen was University Vice-Chancellor. The story as it relates to Bunyan is told with circumstantial detail by Asty in his "Life of Owen," he having obtained the particulars from Owen's friend, Sir John Hartopp. Barlow was undoubtedly concerned in Bunyan's release, and concerned not as a friend but in his official capacity as bishop of the diocese; yet Barlow was not Bishop of Lincoln till 1675. His predecessor in the see, Dr. Fuller, died on April 23 in that year. Dr. Barlow was elected May 14 and consecrated June 27. In his official capacity, therefore, he could be concerned in no release which took place as early as 1672, but might very well have to do with one effected in 1676.

Further, it is important to note that 1675 was the year of the ascendancy of the Danby Administration and of that important change in the policy of the government towards the Nonconformists which led to the withdrawal of the licences granted to their preachers and their places of worship under the Declaration of Indulgence. That Declaration had now been in force for three years, but had never

been really popular in the country. Even the Nonconformists, while largely availing themselves of the liberty which it gave, looked with cold favour upon that exercise of the royal prerogative by which it was conferred. It was an unconstitutional Act, and there was a shrewd suspicion on all sides that it was mainly intended by the king to benefit the Roman Catholics. That the High Church party should dislike the granting of liberty to the Nonconformists was, of course, only to be expected; but, as we have said, even the Nonconformists themselves accepted that liberty with sore misgiving. It was, they felt, a perilous thing to leave it in the power of the Crown to suspend an Act of Parliament by prerogative. If it might suspend one it might suspend forty, and where then would be the liberties of the country in the hands of a Stuart king? When the Declaration was debated in Parliament in 1673 a conspicuous Nonconformist, then in the House, objecting to it strongly, was met by the remark—"Why, Mr. Love, you are a Dissenter yourself, it is very ungrateful that you who receive the benefit should object against the manner." "I am a Dissenter," he replied, "and thereby unhappily obnoxious to the law, and if you catch me in the corn you may put me in the pound. The law against the Dissenters I should be glad to see repealed by the same authority that made it. But while it is law the king cannot repeal it by proclamation; and I had much rather see the Dissenters suffer by the rigour of the law, though I suffer with them, than see all the laws of England

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trampled under the foot of the prerogative, as in this example." *

These resolute words expressed a feeling widely shared; and, after vehement debate, the House resolved, that penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament. Four days later this resolution was followed by the voting of an address conveying that information to His Majesty. The result was that very soon the Nonconformists were in a worse plight than before. A new Test Act was passed which, though aimed mainly at the Roman Catholics, bore hardly upon all in the nation who could not conform; the king, with his own hand, tore off the Great Seal from the Declaration of Indulgence; and the Ministry was broken up, the reins of power passing into the hands of the Earl of Danby. In matters ecclesiastical, the new Minister was simply Clarendon over again, just as resolutely bent as he had been on building up the Church on the lines of the Act of Uniformity, and on stamping out everything in the shape of Dissent. Thus, in 1675, the reign of intolerance had set in again as violently as at any time since the Restoration. The king was prevailed upon to call in all the licences granted to Nonconformist preachers and places of worship. In a sermon of the time before the House of Commons a high church preacher sounded the note of storm. Nonconformity, he said, could only be effectually vanquished by vengeance, and the right thing to do was to set fire to faggot to teach these obstinate people by scourges

* Wilson's "Life of Defoe," i. 58.

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or scorpions, and to open their eyes with gall. These preliminary mutterings were soon followed by the outburst of the storm itself. Nathaniel Heywood, a well-known Nonconformist minister in Lancashire, tells us that at this time he was met by more bitter opposition in his work, and went through sorer trouble than at any time since his ejection. Warrants, he says, were shot against him like arrows, and when he and his people tried to meet for worship they found the officers already at the meeting doors. Such being the temper of the time, no wonder if John Bunyan, as well as Nathaniel Heywood, was made to feel the change. For three years he had held a licence from the king which secured him as a preacher from arrest. Now all such licences had been recalled by public proclamation, and now, therefore, for the first time since his release in 1672, he was defenceless against informers, and was once more sent to gaol.

This time to the town prison ou the bridge. We may say this because there are various indications and traditions pointing in this direction, which leave little room for doubt. We happen to know, for example, that the town gaol was, the previous year, made ready for use again, as though with a view to requirements which were felt to be near. It had lain in dismantled condition ever since the great flood of 1671; but at a council meeting held on May 13, 1675, "it was agreed and ordered That the Prison upon the Bridge shall be rebuilt: And it shall be done with the ould materyalls." * In pursuance

* "Act-Book of the Bedford Corporation," May 1675.

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of this order a committee was appointed to oversee the work which was to be taken in hand forthwith.

Then, further, we have these two facts in confirmation of this view—first, the tradition that Bunyan was confined in the prison on Bedford bridge was unbroken from the earliest times, and firmly believed by the oldest inhabitants of the town till the inquiries of Mr. Wyatt, in 1868, raised the question of the county and borough jurisdiction; and, secondly, we have a piece of personal testimony to which considerable importance may be attached. In the year 1814 there died at Newport Pagnel, in his seventy-seventh year, the Rev. William Bull, Congregational minister there, a man of local influence, character, and genius, and the intimate personal friend and correspondent of the poet Cowper. He was often at Bedford, and it was his quaint and characteristic custom when crossing the town bridge, to make solemn pause and do reverent homage to Bunyan's memory, explaining on one occasion, to a friend who crossed the bridge with him and who lived till 1849, that he did so because on that spot Bunyan suffered imprisonment for conscience' sake. Now, Mr. Bull's testimony as to the place of imprisonment is especially trustworthy, for in the year 1758 he was living in the town of Bedford, where he was in business with his uncle. He joined the Bedford Church in 1760, at the time that Bunyan's great grand-daughter, Hannah Bunyan, was a member of the congregation, and ten years before her death. He was the intimate friend of Samuel Sanderson, the minister of the church, by whom he himself was

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sent into the ministry. Sanderson again was for ten years the colleague, in the pastorate at Bedford, of Ebenezer Chandler, who was Bunyan's immediate successor, and the first editor of his collected works. Not only indeed did Chandler immediately follow Bunyan in the pastorate of the church, but he was for nearly forty years the minister and close personal friend of Bunyan's eldest son John, who at the time of his father's third imprisonment would be a young man of eighteen, and who would therefore know very well in which gaol he was last confined. By the time of Chandler and Sanderson, Bunyan's name and fame had steadily grown, and everything relating to him would be matter of interest and frequent conversation. The circle into which William Bull was thrown in Bedford, in 1760, and into which he subsequently married, was therefore in the way of being exceptionally well informed as to the main facts of Bunyan's life, and he would receive his information directly from them. It is needless to say that tradition like this is more than respectable, it is conclusive.

This bridge-house, in which Bunyan was confined for six months, served the double purpose of a prison and a toll-house at a time when incoming grain and other products were subject to charges levied by the municipality. The bridge, with its gatehouses, was built in 1224, out of the ruins of the old Bedford castle. With its five arches spanning the stream of the quietly-flowing Ouse, it was a picturesque object to the eye, and in a peregrination of 1526 is described as one of the "fayre stone bridges" of England. Though 330 feet long it was only $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and

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its parapet, which was little more than a yard high, was rebuilt from the materials of the dismantled church of St. Peter Dunstaple, which, till 1545, stood as sister church close to St. Mary's. On each side of the central arch was a tower gateway, that to the north being used as the town-gaol, the one to the south as the military magazine and storehouse for the county. The portion of the north tower gateway used as a prison, was the upper chamber on the east side, beneath which was a stone staircase, leading to a small island covered with shrubs and greenery, that existed when the water was lower than it is now.

If we are right, then, in saying that Bunyan was again in gaol in 1675-6, and that the place of his confinement was this prison on Bedford bridge, we come now to ask, Was it then and there that he wrote the "Pilgrim's Progress"? Two considerations seem to give us the answer in the affirmative. First, we know for certain that the book was written in prison, and if we suppose that it was written during his twelve years' imprisonment we shall have to account for the long interval of six years between its composition and its publication; for from that imprisonment Bunyan was released in 1672, whereas the "Pilgrim's Progress" was not published till 1678. His own account of the matter seems to suggest a very much more prompt procedure. He tells us that as soon as he had finished the book he was curious to see what reception it would meet with at the hands of his neighbours:

When I had put mine ends together,
I show'd them others that I might see whether

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They would condemn them or them justify ;
And some said let them live ; some let them die.
Some said John print it ; others said, not so ;
Some said it might do good ; others said no.

His book thus being met by grave looks of dubiety, as well as with bright smiles of appreciation, Bunyan was for a time in as much perplexity as a man usually is who takes counsel of his neighbours. Therefore, in the exercise of his sturdy common sense, he will settle the matter for himself.

Since you are thus divided,
I print it will, and so the case decided.

There is an air of briskness about this which, to say the least, is not suggestive of a six years' interval before publication.

He also tells us something further, which may help to a conclusion. He says that at the time when, all unexpectedly to himself, there dawned upon him the conception of the Pilgrim story, he was actually engaged in the composition of another book :

Thus it was : I writing of the Way
And Race of Saints in this our Gospel-day,
Fell suddenly into an Allegory
About their journey, and the way to glory.

Reading this we remember that Bunyan left behind him in manuscript an expanded sermon on the text, "So run that ye may obtain" which Charles Doe tells us he purchased from Bunyan's eldest son in 1691 and published in 1698 under the title of "The Heavenly Footman : or a description of the man that gets to Heaven ; together with the Way he runs in,

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the Marks he goes by." It is not improbable that this is the book Bunyan already was about when he "fell suddenly into an Allegory." There are not a few passages in the book pointing in the direction he afterwards took. We are reminded, for example, of the man who fought his way into the palace when we read: "they that will have Heaven must not stick at any difficulties they meet with, but press, crowd, and thrust through all that may stand between Heaven and their souls." Here, again, we have a foreshadowing of the fight with Apollyon: "There is never a poor soul that is going to Heaven but the devil, the law, sin, death and hell makes after that soul. I can assure you the devil is nimble, he can run apace, he is light of foot, he hath overtaken many, he hath turned up their heels and hath given them an everlasting fall." We seem, too, to come upon a suggestion of that Bye-path Meadow which leads to Giant Despair's dungeons as we read: "Beware of bye-paths, take heed thou dost not turn into those lanes which lead out of the way. There are crooked paths, paths in which men go astray, paths that lead to death and damnation." There are other indications of like sort, and these are the final words of this little book, "Get into the Way; run apace, and hold out to the end; and the Lord give thee a prosperous journey. Farewell."

The conclusion we have thus reached is that the first part of the memorable dream was written in the prison on Bedford Bridge in the summer months of 1676. Whether it was actually finished there may be open to question. There is a curious break in

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the story, which seems almost to suggest that it was not. After describing the parting of Christian and Hopeful with the shepherds on the Delectable Mountains, Bunyan says, "So I awoke from my dream." Then in the next paragraph, he adds, "And I slept, and dreamed again, and saw the same two Pilgrims going down the mountains along the highway towards the city." This is the only break that occurs in the First Part of the book. It is not artistically required by the plot of the story; indeed, it somewhat interferes with it; and the more probable conclusion is that Bunyan's dream was broken by Bunyan's release from his den, and that the remainder of the story, which amounts to nearly a third of the First Part, was written after he was at large.

The circumstances of the case seem to point to the autumn months of 1676 as the time when Bishop Barlow's order of release came from Buckden Palace to Bedford gaol, and when Bunyan finally bade farewell to his prison life. If there be any truth in the supposition just made, that nearly one-third of his book was written after his release, it would probably be sometime in 1677 that he set out for London, taking with him the manuscript of the "Pilgrim" for publication. The publisher fixed upon was Nathaniel Ponder, at the sign of the Peacock, in the Poultry, near the Church. His was a new name on Bunyan's title-pages, but it was one destined frequently to reappear during the next ten years; and though this was the first time these two had had business relations with each other, Ponder was no

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stranger to the Nonconformists of Bedfordshire. In 1671, from his shop, which was then in Chancery Lane, he had published a work, entitled "England Saved," the author of which was Robert Perrot, the ejected minister of Dean, in that county. In 1672, when a licence was granted to John Whitman, an elder of the Bedford church, to preach at George Cokayn's house at Cotten End, it was endorsed, "Pray deliver this to Nathaniel Ponder." There was also this further link of connection: Dr. Owen had recently been concerned in Bunyan's release, and Nathaniel Ponder was Owen's publisher, was indeed at that very time bringing out for him his work entitled, "The Reason of Faith." As, after the interest Owen had recently taken in his release, Bunyan would probably call upon him on his arrival in the city, the talk between them would be likely to determine the Peacock in the Poultry as the destination of the "Pilgrim."

The arrival of the MS. proved to be an epoch in the life of the publisher as well as in that of the author; for, as John Dunton tells us, after the success of the famous book he was known among his brother craftsmen of the Stationers' Company as "Bunyan Ponder." He was an agreeable man to have dealings with. "He has," says Dunton, "sweetness and enterprise in his air which plead and anticipate in his favour." Notwithstanding his pleasant manners, however, "Bunyan Ponder," like "Elephant Smith," had in the previous year found his way to the Gate-house prison, as may be seen from the "Minutes of Privy Council," where there is

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the following record: "1676. At the Court at Whitehall, May 10 (the King present), a warrant was issued to commit Nathaniell Ponder to the Gatehouse, for carrying to the Presse to be printed an unlicensed Pamphlet tending to Sedition and Defamation of the Christian Religion." Ponder's prison experiences, however, proved to be much more brief than those of his friend Bunyan, as his spirit was certainly much less resolute. On the 26th of the same month, on the 10th of which he had been committed, before the same council, "Nathaniel Ponder, Stationer, was discharged upon his humble petition, setting forth his hearty sorrow for his offence and promising never to offend in like manner." He was ordered to pay due fees and to enter into a bond of £500. The year after this experience of his the MS. of the "Pilgrim's Progress" would be in Ponder's hands, for we find the following entry in the register of the Stationers' Company: "22nd December, 1677, Nathaniel Ponder entered then for his Coppy by vertue of a licence under the hand of Mr. Turner, and which is subscribed by Mr. Warden Vere, One Book or Coppy Intituled The Pilgrim's Progress from this world to that which is to come, delivered in y^e Similitude of a Dream, by John Bunyan, vjd." The sixpence indicated at the end was of course the customary fee for registration. Entered thus at Stationers' Hall at the end of December, Bunyan's Dream, we find from a "General Catalogue of Books printed and published at London in Hilary Term 167⁷/₈," was licensed February 18, 1678, and therefore early in the year

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was in the hands of that public which so quickly and for so long was to give it hearty welcome. In the catalogue referred to it was announced as "price bound 1s. 6d.;" it was printed in small octavo on yellowish grey paper, from apparently new type, and extended to 232 pages in addition to title, author's apology, and conclusion.

As in the case of his earlier work, the "Grace Abounding," the "Pilgrim's Progress" grew upon Bunyan's hands after its first publication. Some very characteristic additions were made in the second edition, which came out the same year as the first, and also in the third, which appeared as early as 1679. In the first edition there was no description of Christian breaking his mind to his wife and children,* no appearance of Mr. Worldly Wiseman, no second meeting with Evangelist,† no account given by Christian to Goodwill at the wicket-gate of his own turning aside.‡ Christian's discourse with Charity at the Palace Beautiful, was added afterwards, as were the four verses on his leaving the palace.§ The other additions were the third appearance of Evangelist as the Pilgrims were nearing Vanity Fair;¶ the further account of Mr. By-End's rich relations,|| with the conversation which took

* "In this plight . . . what shall I do to be saved?"

† "Now as Christian was walking solitary . . . Worldly Wiseman's counsel."

‡ "Truly, said Christian, I have said the truth of Pliable . . . cast out."

§ "Then said Charity, Christian . . . from their blood."

¶ "Now when they were got . . . faithful Creator."

|| "Almost the whole town . . . by Father's side."

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place between him and his friends, and between him and the Pilgrims; * the sight of Lot's wife turned to a pillar of salt, with the talk it occasioned; † the whole account of Diffidence, the wife of Giant Despair; ‡ and finally, the description of the Pilgrims being met on the farther side of the river by the king's trumpeters in white and shining raiment. § It may be mentioned further that in the first edition several of the songs were introduced without the sentences which afterwards connected them with the narrative or dialogue.

The first edition of the first part of the "Pilgrim's Progress" was, on the whole, more roughly spelt than the first edition of the second part, which was published six years later. We have wrong spellings by themselves, and also wrong spellings side by side with right. We have, for instance, Slough of Despond and Slow of Dispond, Pliable, and Plyable; lie, lye, ly; die, dye, dy; raiment and rayment; we have such forms as morgage, drowneded, grievously, travailers, lyons, ai for aye, two wit for to wit, bin for been, thorow for through, tro for trow, bruit for brute, strodled for straddled, anoiance, strook, be-wayling, toull, forraign, suddain, stounded, sloath, melancholly, choaked, chaulketh, carkass, and villian. There is nothing remarkable in the doubling of the

* "Now I saw in my dream . . . devouring fire."

† "Now I saw just on the other side . . . remember Lot's wife."

‡ "Now Giant Despair had a wife . . . search them in the morning."

§ "There came out also at this time . . . glorious joy be expressed."

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final consonant in such words as generall, untill, and the like, for this was the seventeenth-century custom; but Bunyan also doubles it in such words as bogg, denn, scarr, ragg, quagg, and wagg; and what was even more unusual, he doubles the medial in such words as hazzard, steddiness, fellon, eccho, shaddow, widdow. In his entries in the church book he often dropped the final e, and in the book before us also, we find wholesom, lightsom, bridg, and knowledg; while he uses this letter to give the old plural form in shooes, braines, decaies, alwaies, paines, rayes, and the like. In this first edition also we have such colloquialisms and irregularities as: catch't up, shewen, brast for burst, maiest, didest, then for to go, I should a been, practick, a little to-side, let's go over, like for likely, afraid on't, ransak't, mist for missed, such as thee and I, you was, we was, two miles off of Honesty, and things prophanes. The second edition had fewer mis-spellings, but more printer's errors. Some very characteristic marginalia which were found in the first edition were, one fails to see why, omitted in subsequent issues. By the side of the narrative there were such racy comments as these: "A man may have company when he sets out for heaven and yet go thither alone;" "A Christian can sing alone when God doth give him the joy of his heart;" "O brave Talkative!" "Christian snibbeth his fellow;" "Hopeful swaggers;" "Christian roundeth off Demas;" "O good riddance!" "They are whip't and sent on their way."

The most important addition made to the second

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edition, which came out only a few months after the first, was the introduction of Mr. Worldly Wiseman ; and to the third edition, which appeared the following year, the characteristic additions to the story of Mr. By-ends. It was to this third edition of 1679 there was first added an illustrative engraving in the shape of a portrait of the Author by Robert White. In this portrait Bunyan is represented as sleeping over a den in which there is a lion, while above him Christian, with book in one hand, staff in the other, and burden on his back, is toiling up from the City of Destruction, low-lying, to a city on the heights bathed in sunlight.

The fact that three editions were thus called for within a year, shows that the "Pilgrim's Progress" leaped at a bound to that popularity which it has retained for two centuries. A living artist has given us an ideal sketch of Nathaniel Ponder's shop at the time he first sent forth the book. A scholar is coming out from under the sign of the Peacock, and a peasant, whip in one hand and money in the other, going in, while near the shop door are a gay gallant and a fair lady, schoolboys, and grave men, all intently reading that story of the "Pilgrim" they have just purchased over the counter within. The picture is true to the time then and true to the time now.

Some writers have with respectful purpose and even affectionate regard, found pleasure in endeavouring to trace some of the sources of Bunyan's inspiration to the scenes of nature in the midst of which he lived, or to the social surroundings of his life. Much of this must, of course, be mere harmless

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conjecture ; and yet while saying this we may make at least one exception. We may almost certainly trace one of the most striking scenes of the allegory, that of the doings at Vanity Fair to the actual life of Bunyan's own time. This memorable scene was doubtless suggested to Bunyan by one of the many fairs held in those days which were then of so much importance as means of traffic. Elstow Fair had been a great institution ever since Henry II. had granted a charter to the nuns of the Abbey there. But the one fair of all others likely to suggest and be the historical basis of Vanity Fair, was that held for centuries at Sturbridge, near to Cambridge. Like the great fairs of Frankfort, Leipsic, and Novgorod, it lasted for weeks. It was proclaimed by the Vice-Chancellor of the University, and opened with great state by the mayor and other members of the Corporation of Cambridge. It was of large extent, covering an area of half a square mile, and had its long line of booths named in rows after the forms of traffic there carried on. It had its great one of the fair, its court of justice presided over by the mayor or his deputy who was attended by his eight redcoats or runners. It was a vast emporium of commerce. Mercers from France brought their silks, and Flemings from the Low Countries their woollens ; traders from Scotland and from Kendal set forth their pack-horses on the road to be in time for the fair, while barges from London came round by Lynn and brought the merchandise of the city along the Ouse and the Cam. All new discoveries and foreign acquisitions were here first

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brought to public view; the voyages of Drake and Cavendish and Raleigh furnished their novelties, while products from beyond the east and west of the Atlantic found their way year by year to Sturbridge Fair. When business was over it was succeeded by pleasure. Round the square, in the centre of which rose the great maypole with its vane at the top, there were coffee-houses, taverns, music-halls, buildings for the exhibition of drolls, legerdemain, mountebanks, wild beasts, monsters, dwarfs, giants, rope-dancers, and the like. In 1481 a grotesque masquerade was held personating Louis XI. of France, and in the fifteenth century the Duke of York spent a day there in a tent of cloth of gold, attended by noblemen and ladies and much musical display. As year by year the country gentry for ten or twelve miles round came in with their sons and daughters for the diversions of the place, the sight presented was that of Vanity Fair indeed.*

Bunyan, often in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, as we know he was, must several times in his life have looked on this remarkable scene at Sturbridge, a scene which lent itself so readily to the purposes of his allegory. Having such memories in his mind the Dreamer sees Christian and Faithful pass into Vanity Fair, with its rows, its innumerable forms of traffic in houses, lands, trades, places, honours, and preferments, titles, pleasures, delights, and what not; with its jugglings, cheats, games, plays, fools, apes, knaves, and that of every kind; with its great one

* "Sturbridge Fair;" Nichol's "Bib. Topographica," vol. v. pp. 73 *et seq.*

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of the fair, its court of justice, and its power of judgment.

The striking and unexpected success of his pilgrim story, surprising no one more than himself, may have had much to do in determining Bunyan to venture upon one of those continuations which are proverbially dangerous experiments. Yet it would almost seem as if, even before the First Part had left his hands he had some glimmering thoughts of a Second. In the last two lines of the poetical conclusion to the First Part, he says that if his reader should

Cast away all as vain
I know not but 'twill make me dream again.

His first intention and endeavour was to complete the picture by a contrast. He had given the story of a noble life, of a life whose course was upward to the City of God; his purpose now was to paint in shadow the story of a life steering for the outer darkness, of a soul ever "unmaking itself." Immediately after the third edition of 1679, which was the First Part in its completed form, he set about the book entitled the "Life and Death of Mr. Badman." In Charles Doe's Catalogue the date of its first appearance is given as 1685, but earlier editions have come to light since then, and we now know that it was actually published in 1680. That he connected this work with his "Pilgrim" in his own mind, he tells us himself. The preface commences thus: "As I was considering with myself what I had written concerning the Progress of the Pilgrim from this world to glory: and how it had been

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acceptable to many in this nation : It came again into my mind to write, as then of him that was going to Heaven, so now of the Life and Death of the Ungodly and of their travel from this world to Hell." But whatever Bunyan's intention might be the popular instinct was in this case truer than his own. The story of *Badman's Life* only serves as a foil to that of *Christian* and could not be accepted either as its complement or continuation. Indeed, after the appearance of this book, other writers, ignoring it, undertook to complete Bunyan's allegory for him. In 1683 a writer who signed himself T. S. stepped into the field with a book which, in size and type closely resembled the First Part sent out by Nathaniel Ponder. It was entitled "*The Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress,*" from "this present World of Wickedness and Misery to An Eternity of Holiness and Felicity : Exactly Described under the Similitude of a Dream." It was printed for Jho. Malthus at the *Sun* in the Poultry, and so far as is known, only one copy has survived the lapse of time, a copy which was formerly in the library of the poet Southey, and is now in that of the Baptist Union. The writer, whoever he was, had no intention, as in the case of the spurious Third Part of a later time, of palming off his book as Bunyan's own production. With not too much modesty, he merely intended to mend Bunyan's work, to supply what he considered to be missing in the First Part of the story. Pressed by the importunity of others, he had, he said, issued his meditations, "in such a method as might serve as a Supplement or a Second Part to it, wherein I have

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endeavoured to supply a fourfold defect which I observe the brevity of that discourse necessitated the Author into." He has endeavoured to be more theological and "to deliver the whole in such serious and spiritual phrases that may prevent that lightness and laughter which the reading of some passages [in Bunyan's book] occasions in some vain and frothy minds." In other words, the original "Pilgrim's Progress" was not doctrinal enough and it was too attractive, charges which no one will think of bringing against his own production, which he hopes will help on a practice recently proposed: "viz., The giving of Books of this nature at Funerals, instead of Rings, Gloves, Wine, or Bisket."

This, which came out in 1683, was not the only attempt made to improve upon Bunyan. At the beginning of the genuine Second Part, which came out the following year, he says :

Some have of late to counterfeit
My Pilgrim, to their own my title set ;
Yea others, half my name and title too
Have stitched to their own book to make them do ;
But yet they by their Features do declare
Themselves not mine to be whose'er they are.

This Second Part by Bunyan himself was published early in 1685, or in 1684, Old Style. The title-page was a reproduction and adaptation of the title to the First Part, and this later work, like that, was published by Nathaniel Ponder. Unlike the first edition of the First Part, however, which had no illustrations, this had a frontispiece depicting Christiana and her companions setting forth to the Celestial

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City ; there being a sleeping portrait of Bunyan at the foot of the picture. Between pages 52 and 53 also, there was a rude engraving of Greatheart carrying a huge sword in front of the pilgrims ; and another between pages 162 and 163, in which the pilgrims are seen mirthfully dancing round the uplifted head of Giant Despair. On the reverse of the title there was this note :

“ I appoint Mr. *Nathaniel Ponder*, But no other, to
Print this Book. John Bunyan.”

“ January 1st, 1684. [1685 N.S.] ”

In this Second Part, as in the First, we have such spellings as, gon, lodg, knowledg, dwel, welcom, Samaritane, venome, combate, scarrs, curr, bitt, marr, lillies, eccho, linnen, robbin, shaddow. We have such variations as mercy and mercie, Apollyon and Apolion, sagasity and sagaciety, giant and gyant ; such plurals as shoos, hosen, noseгаies, bodys. We have also such forms as suckered, nutriture, awrie, fether, foyled, craul, hault, jocond, surfits, crums. We have stere for steer, bryers for briars, role for roll, and faireth for fareth. We come also upon such colloquialisms as “ above-head ” for “ over-head,” “ would a had him,” “ like to a bin,” “ not a bin,” “ I was a dreamed,” “ the highways have a been unoccupied,” “ greatly gladded ” ; and such expressions as “ she all-to-be-fooled me,” “ most an end,” “ they made pretty good shift to wagg along,” “ to get a thing by root-of-heart,” “ he cried her down at the cross,” “ heart-whole,” “ good-tasted,” and “ a beck’n of farewell.”

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After sending forth his First Part, Bunyan's next intention, as we have seen, was to complete the story of a good life by placing side by side with it the contrast of a life that was basely bad. His second conception, which turned out to be more successful, was to supplement the story of Christian's pilgrimage by that of his wife and children; the record of the religious life in man by the story of that same life as it shows itself in woman. That the influence of the spiritual world upon her more susceptible nature, had for him a special interest, we gather from the graceful passage he puts into the lips of Gaius mine host :

"I will say again, that when the Saviour was come women rejoiced in him before either man or angel. I read not that even any man did give unto Christ so much as one groat, but the women followed him and ministered to him of their substance. 'Twas a woman that washed his feet with tears, and a woman that anointed his body to the burial. They were women that wept when he was going to the Cross; and women that followed him from the Cross and that sat by his sepulcher when he was buried. They were women that was first with him at his Resurrection morn, and women that brought tidings first to his disciples that he was risen from the dead. Women, therefore, are highly favoured, and show by these things that they are sharers with us in the grace of life."

He was himself singularly fortunate in the two companions of his home life and pilgrimage. Mr.

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Lynch* acutely suggested that in Christiana, with her vigorous strength of character, Bunyan was idealising his second wife Elizabeth, who in the Swan Chamber so nobly confronted judges and magistrates in his behalf; while in the gentler character of Mercy we have his heart-remembrance of her who had been the wife of his youth in his far-off Elstow days. Whatever there may be in this, the reference did not extend to his household, for Christiana's children were four sons, while Bunyan's were three sons and three daughters, the youngest child in each household, however, being a Joseph. There was one difficulty in constructing this story of Christiana which must have been felt from the first—the difficulty inherent in sending forth women and children on a hazardous journey like that which Christian had taken before them. This difficulty, however, was overcome by the device, old as the days of mediæval romance, of providing them with an attendant champion, who, as Mr. Greatheart, sees them safely past the perilous places of their pilgrimage and on to their journey's end.

Picturing substantially the same road as the first, this second dream nevertheless opens up to us with some variations of form. It is six years since the pilgrimage of Christian was given to the world, of which interval the writer gives this explanatory word: "Now it hath so happened thorough the multiplicity of business that I have been much hindred and kept back from my wonted travels into those parts whence he went, and so could not now obtain

* Mornington Lecture—Bunyan.

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an opportunity to make further enquiry after whom he left behind, that I might give you an account of them. But having had some concerns that way of late, I went down again thitherward. Now having taken up my lodgings in a wood about a mile off the place, as I slept I dreamed again." He is thus no longer in his den, no longer in prison, but in more pleasant surroundings when the second vision comes upon him. In opening up its story also, he has recourse to an expedient he had not used before, an expedient similar to the device of Euripides among the Greek tragedians, who introduces some hero or god in the prologue of the story to tell us what is the present state of affairs, and what has happened up to the time of his speaking. The intervening interpreter in this case is an aged gentleman named Mr. Sagacity, who comes up to the dreamer in his vision, and after describing how Christiana was led to go forth on pilgrimage, and carrying on the narrative as far as the scene at the wicket-gate, drops out of the story, to be seen by us no more.

Alike in the case of Christiana as in that of Christian, this setting forth on pilgrimage makes a stir among the neighbours, and while Obstinate and Pliable try to turn Christian from his purpose, Mrs. Timorous and Neighbour Mercy come on the same errand to Christiana. In both cases one of the two remonstrants ends in going with the pilgrim, with this difference, however, that Pliable afterwards turns back, which Mercy does not. The later conference among Pliable's neighbours has its counterpart also in the lively conversation carried on between

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Mrs. Timorous and her friends Mrs. Bat's-eyes, Mrs. Inconsiderate, Mrs. Light-mind, and Mrs. Know-nothing. These animated gossips first conclude that if Christiana will go they are well rid of her, for 'twas never a good world since these whimsical fools dwelt in it ; they then turn to more congenial themes, listening to Mrs. Light-mind as she tells how yesterday she was at Madam Wanton's, where they were all as merry as the maids. The second part lies along the same main lines as the first. We have the City of Destruction, the Wicket-gate, the House of Interpreter, the Hill Difficulty, the Palace Beautiful, the Valley of Humiliation and that of the Shadow of Death, Vanity Fair, the Delectable Mountains, the Enchanted Ground, the Land of Beulah, and the River without a bridge. We meet with some of the same people along the road or some of their relations, and all through the journey the pilgrims find that every one knows Christiana's husband, and the mere mention of his name proves a passport to hospitality and honour for her and her children.

But while there are many and substantial resemblances between the two parts, there are also additions and important variations. In the House of Interpreter the later pilgrims see in the significant rooms sights which Christian saw not. They are shown the man who could look no way but downward, and who went on raking sticks and straws and dust of the floor, all unmindful of the celestial crown to be seen over his head ; the spider which, repellent creature as it is, yet finds its way into kings' palaces ; the hen that has such various calls for her brood ;

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the sheep that yields up its life so uncomplainingly ; the robin, pretty of note, colour, and carriages, that yet catches and gobbles up unclean spiders ; the tree, fair of leaf but rotten within, fit type of men of plausible exterior whose hearts are yet good for nothing but to be tinder for the devil's tinder-box ; and the garden of the Interpreter's House, where was great variety of flowers—flowers diverse in stature, in quality, in colour, and smell and virtue, where some are better than some, and yet there was this to be noted, that where the gardener has set them there they stand and quarrel not one with another. In the Palace Beautiful, again, they were shown additional rarities : one of the apples that Eve did eat of ; Jacob's ladder, on which the angels were going up and coming down ; the mount on which Abraham offered up his son Isaac. A golden anchor also was given unto them, and they were had into the dining-room, where stood a pair of excellent Virginals, on which Prudence played, turning the sights she had shown them into an excellent song. At a later stage of their journey, too, they were had to some new places on the Delectable Mountains ; to Mount Marvel, from which they saw a man at a distance that tumbled the hills about with words ; to Mount Innocent, where they could see Prejudice and Ill-will casting dirt upon a man clothed in white, from whom the dirt fell as fast as it was thrown ; and to Mount Charity, where they could see a man cutting coats and garments for the poor from a roll of cloth which grew never the less.

In this second part Bunyan shows his many-sided

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sympathy by unfolding the variety there is in spiritual experience. In this respect it is not a mere repetition. Going through the Slough of Despond Christiana's company looked well to the steps and made a shift to get staggeringly over without being so grievously bemired as Christian was. It was daytime when they went through the Valley of the Shadow of Death; Apollyon appeared to them only as a distant shape, and no sooner approached than he vanished; and Giant Despair, so far from shutting them up in his dungeons, gets Doubting Castle pulled about his ears, and his head struck from his shoulders by Greatheart, Old Honest, and the rest. Few things are more marked in the story than the contrast between the Valley of Humiliation as it presented itself to Christian, and as it presented itself to those who came after him—to the man of high spirit and to the women queenly in their passive meekness. To him it was a scene of awful conflict with Apollyon, to them it was a tranquil dwelling in green pastures and by still waters. To the sweet, contented spirit of Mercy this valley was a place where she loved to be. "Methinks," said she, "one may without much molestation be thinking what he is, whence he comes, and to what the King has called him. Here one may think and break at heart and melt in one's spirit, until one's eyes become like the fish-pools of Heshbon." The gentle nature of Mr. Fearing, too, found in this valley its congenial home. "Here he would lie down, embrace the ground, and kiss the very flowers that grew in this valley. He would now be up every morning by

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break of day, tracing and walking to and fro in this valley." It is a valley that to the meek and lowly in heart is ever green, and beautified with lilies; many labouring men have got good estates therein, for grace, more grace is given to the humble. Our Lord Himself had his country house in this valley and loved much to be here, loved much to walk these meadows, finding the air to be pleasant. Here a man may be free from the noise and from the hurrys of this life, and here he shall not be so let and hindered in his contemplations as in other places he is apt to be. It was in this valley the pilgrims came upon a shepherd-boy, simply clad, but of a fresh and well-favoured countenance, who lives here a merrier life and wears more of that herb called heart's-ease in his bosom than he that is clad in silk and velvet. "Hark! said Mr. Greatheart, to what the shepherd-boy saith." So they hearkened and he said:

"He that is down need fear no fall
He that is low no pride:
He that is humble, ever shall
Have God to be his guide.

"I am content with what I have,
Little be it or much;
And, Lord, contentment still I crave,
Because thou savest such."

In a story especially meant to exhibit the passive, trustful, feminine side of the religious life we might expect what we find—a loving sympathy with the bruised reeds of life, the souls all quivering with sensibility in the midst of a hard world. None of

Bunyan's creations ever laid deeper hold of his heart than did Mr. Fearing, who was dejected at every difficulty, and stumbled at every straw, yet curiously enough did not much fear the lions, "for you must know that his trouble was not about such things; his fear was about his acceptance at last." His Lord was very tender to such as he. At the House of Interpreter some of the good bits at the table were sure to be laid upon his trencher; when he went through the Valley of the Shadow of Death it was as quiet as ever it was known, before or since; and when he was come at the river where was no bridge, "I took notice of what was very remarkable: the water of that river was lower at this time than ever I saw it in all my life; so he went over at last not much above wet-shod." Equally tender and sympathetic is Bunyan with Mr. Feeblemind, Mr. Ready-to-halt, Mr. Despondency, and his daughter, Miss Much-afraid.

Yet, while we have this side of life given with such exquisite tact and insight, and while we are presented with such graceful women of Puritan type as Mercy and Christiana, we have also creations of masculine strength and force such as might have stood in the ranks of Cromwell's Ironsides. We have Greatheart—stout champion of womanly chastity and gentleness; Old Honest, sturdy in greatness of soul; and Valiant-for Truth wielding a right Jerusalem blade, and leaving marks of his valour on the foes he fought, fighting one against three:

Who would true valour see,
Let him come hither;

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One here will constant be,
Come wind, come weather ;
There's no discouragement
Shall make him once relent
His first avowed intent
To be a pilgrim.

Even this hasty glance at its story may serve to show that this Second Part of the "Pilgrim's Progress" is not altogether unworthy of the First. Inferior to that no doubt it is, has more incongruities, is less powerfully sustained, and presents dialogues of mediocre type such as its predecessor does not. Yet when all deductions have been made, we feel that it carries with it sufficient impress of Bunyan's genius, enough of charm and individuality all its own to entitle Christiana to go hand-in-hand with Christian on his pilgrimage through time. Between these two there is vital relation. They are the creations of the same genial soul, the outcome of the same heaven-kindled fire ; and he who brooded over and called into shape this later child of his brain sent it forth with this foreword on its front :

Go now my little book to every place
Where my first Pilgrim has but shown his face :
Call at their door : ask them yet again,
If formerly they did not entertain
One Christian, a Pilgrim ; if they say
They did and was delighted in his way ;
Then let them know that these related were
Unto him, yea, his wife and children are.

XII

THE PLACE OF THE "PILGRIM'S PROGRESS" IN LITERATURE

HAVING looked at the relation the two parts of the "Pilgrim's Progress" sustain to each other, it may be interesting to form some estimate of the book as a whole, and to account for its widespread and various influence. In attempting to do so it would be beside our purpose to compare it with the few kingly books enthroned on the supreme heights of literature, and reigning there by common suffrage of civilised nations and successive centuries. There is no need to demand entrance for it where entrance would not be willingly and universally accorded. This allegory has its distinctive merits and its own distinct place in the short roll-call of really illustrious books.

One of the foremost causes of its success is that with such singular felicity it meets a pre-existing love of metaphor, fable, parable, and allegory, which is deeply rooted in human nature. How congenial this form of literature was to the temperament of the Oriental, no one with the Bible in his hand needs to

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be told. Nor is the love of it confined to the glowing East or to the sunny South. Kriloff has shown that even on the snowy steppes of the ungenial North, the Russian peasant finds a new charm for his intellect and a fresh glow for his feeling in mind-pictures based upon the instinctive conviction that the outward world of fact and form stands in vital relation with the inward world of personal experience and abstract truth.

Not that we are to suppose that allegory has been made to minister merely to the pleasures of the imagination. There has usually been serious earnest purpose beneath the charm of the story. It has either set forth the pregnant choice made at fateful moments of human life between folly and wisdom, between pleasure and duty, with the far-reaching consequences resulting from the choice; or, and this perhaps more frequently, it has become a protest under thinly veiled disguise against the oppressor's wrong and the proud man's contumely. The two earliest examples remain still among the best illustrations of the uses to which allegory has ever been put, the one the parable of Jotham concerning the choice of a king by the trees, the other the story told by Nathan to David of that rapacious rich man, who with many flocks and herds of his own, yet robbed the poor man of the one little ewe lamb which lay in his bosom and drank of his cup. The prophet thus bringing home to the King's conscience his cruel wrong against one of his subjects, was anticipating by centuries the exceeding bitter cry against the evils of the time raised by William Langland, in his

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"Piers Plowman's Vision;" by John Gower in his "Vox Clamantis," and by Sir David Lyndsay in that "Dreme" of his, which was really an appeal to the conscience of the young Scottish Prince to whom it was addressed.

It is not, however, with allegory in general we are now concerned so much as with that special form of it which in various ways has depicted the pilgrimage of life. In 1330, Guillaume de Guileville, a monk of the royal abbey of Chaliz, was reading the "Roman de la Rose," that memorable mediæval romance begun about 1230 by the *trouvère* Guillaume de Loris, and finished by Jean de Meung. As he read the book there was suggested to him, he says, the conception of his own vision of "Le Pélerinage de l'Homme," a work of interest to us inasmuch as it has been repeatedly affirmed that to it Bunyan was largely indebted for the idea of his own Pilgrim.* Under the title of "The Pilgrimage of the Sowle, translated oute of Frenshe into Englyshe," it was printed in 1483 by William Caxton, at his press in Westminster. There is also in manuscript on vellum, another English translation "made by Johan the preeste," which is preserved in the University library at Cambridge. This copy concludes with the following colophon: "Here endeth the Romance by the monk of the Cisteaux, in France; of the pilgrymage of the

* The Ancient Poem of Guillaume de Guileville, entitled 'Le Pélerinage de l'Homme,' compared with the "Pilgrim's Progress" of John Bunyan. Edited from notes collected by the late Mr. Nathaniel Hill; [By Miss Cust]. London: B. M. Pickering, 1858.

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lyffe of the manhood, which is made for good pilgrymes y^t in this world such waye wol holde that would goo to good haven, and that they have heven's loye, ymaged after the manner of the Romans of the Roos."*

The writer tells us how he had a dream in which there was given to him a sight within a mirror large and bright of the fair city of heaven, a sight which stirred his soul to go thither on pilgrimage. He describes what the city was like, and what people he saw there, doctors and prelates, canons and austin friars, "with other folk full divers both temporal and secular."

That there are several ideas in common between Bunyan and De Guileville will be seen at once on a comparison of the two books. The sight of the city in the heavens acting as an incentive to pilgrimage, the mention of a wicket-gate, the reception into the house of Grâce Dieu, and the equipment of the pilgrim in the armoury. But how far Bunyan was indebted to De Guileville, may be matter of question. The looking for the city with eternal foundations and the equipment of the Christian soul with spiritual armour were New Testament ideas equally accessible to both. The wicket-gate of De Guileville was barely referred to in passing, not taking actual shape in the narrative, and signified that gate of death which awaits every man at the end of the way; whereas with Bunyan it was a prominent part of the story, and was the strait gate through which men

* J. O. Halliwell's "Rarities of the University of Cambridge," 1841, p. 163.

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enter upon a life of faith. Finally, the house of Gráce Dieu and the Palace Beautiful are kindred in conception to that household of faith, the Church of the living God spoken of by St. Paul, and like the House of Mercy in Spenser's "Faery Queen," may have been in part suggested by the old houses of entertainment for pilgrims or travellers by the way.

There are many works subsequent to this of the Monk of Chaliz, in which we have the regular introduction of the dream and the allegory. The "Chemin de Vaillance," of Jean de Courcy (1426); the "Palace of Honour," by Gawin Douglas, of Dunkeld (1501); the "Golden Terge" of William Dunbar (1508); the "Bowse of Court," of John Skelton (1508); and the "Example of Vertu" (1503), and the "Pastime of Pleasure" (1506), by Stephen Hawes; these being followed by Sir David Lyndsay's "Dreme" of 1528.

Passing from the works of these allegorists we come next upon a series of books relating to pilgrims and pilgrimages, which might seem to be the natural forerunners of Bunyan's dream. The connection, however, is little more than the mere suggestion contained in the titles. Some of these are simply descriptions of literal pilgrimages to literal local shrines, while others are nothing more than religious treatises or books of pious meditation under titles suggestive of an allegorical journey. To this latter class belong the "Pérégriuation Spirituelle," of Pascha (1576); the "Viaggio Spirituale," of Bellanda (1578); the "Pilgrimage to Paradise," of

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Leonard Wright (1591); the “Pilgrim’s Journey towards Heaven,” of William Webster (1613); the “Pilgrim’s Practice,” by Robert Bruen (1621); the “Pilgrim’s Passe to the New Jerusalem,” by M. R. Gent (1659); and the “Spiritual Journey towards the Land of Peace” (1659). “The Pilgrimage of Perfection,” by William Bond (1526), like “The Pye or Tonne of the lyfe of Perfection” (1532), is slightly allegorical, but in the main both these books are only a sort of code of direction for monks and nuns. “The Pilgrimage of Dovekin and Willekin to their Beloved in Jerusalem,” the work of the Dutch engraver, Bolswert, though popular once and described to Southey by his friend Bilderdijk, as “one of the delights of his childhood,” is nothing more than a weak and foolish story in the allegorical vein. Bernard’s “Isle of Man,” again, though wise and witty, is, like Phineas Fletcher’s “Purple Island,” more akin to the “Holy War” than to the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” and, as Southey says of Bernard’s book, alike they want the charm of story and that romantic interest, “which holds children from sleep.”

Besides the dreamers, story tellers, and didactic teachers, several of the poets also, of the seventeenth century, have thrown the charm of their genius round the idea of life’s pilgrimage. Whitney, in his “Emblems” (1586), George Herbert, in his “Temple” (1631), and Francis Quarles, in his “Emblems” (1635), have each taken up the conception in verse; as did also Sir Walter Raleigh in lines which somehow always steal into our hearts :

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Give me my scallop shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to lean upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation,
My gown of glory, hope's true gage ;
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.

Often, however, as the conception of the pilgrim life has found utterance, no previous or subsequent writer has given expression to it with the same completeness, unity, force, and beauty, as Bunyan, whose dream stands alone and unrivalled in the literature to which it belongs. Before we ask whether he was indebted to other men for the imagery of his book we must remember that he was in prison when that book was written. Access, therefore, to the literature of mediæval romance, to such writers as De Guileville and Edmund Spenser would be impossible. And even if he had not been in prison it may be doubted whether a book like that of De Guileville would be likely to come under his notice. It existed in old French and in what even in Bunyan's time had become almost obsolete English, and while one would certainly be unintelligible the other would probably be inaccessible. The only printed English translation of which we have any certain knowledge is that issued by William Caxton, and there is no reason to suppose that even two centuries ago "Caxtons" were often within the reach of men in Bunyan's walk of life. No doubt the pilgrim idea had often appeared in literature, but libraries of English literature were not then so

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readily available to mechanics and tinkers as they have come to be since.

Certainly Bunyan had not been intentionally gathering materials beforehand, for, as he tells us, the idea of the book dawned upon him in quite an unlooked-for way while he was in prison, and while engaged upon a different line of thought :

When at first I took my pen in hand,
Thus for to write ; I did not understand
That I at all should make a little book
In such a mode ; nay, I had undertook
To make another, which when almost done,
Before I was aware I this begun.

The crowding fancies came so thick and fast that he felt he must have a care :

I'll put you by yourselves, lest you at last
Should prove *ad infinitum* and eat out
The book that I already am about.

On this question of the originality of his famous Dream, Bunyan himself has a right to be heard, and he has spoken with most unmistakable plainness. Between 1678, when the work in question was published, and 1682, when he sent forth his “ Holy War,” it appears that its originality was more than once challenged by the men of his own time, and to their challenge he replied thus in his own vigorous ashion :

Some say the “ Pilgrim's Progress ” is not mine,
Insinuating as if I would shine
In name, and fame, by the worth of another.

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This suggestion he repels with scorn—"John, such dirt-heap never was since God converted him":

Manner and matter too, was all mine own,
Nor was it unto any mortal known
Till I had done it. Nor did any then
By Books, by wits, by tongues, or hand, or pen,
Add five words to it, or wrote half a line
Thereof: the whole and ev'ry whit is mine.

Nothing could be more explicit than this, or, coming from a man so conscientious, more decisive. Indebtedness there undoubtedly was, such indeed as not even the most exalted genius can free itself from, the unconscious indebtedness which in the current thought of the present inherits the transmitted life of the past. The endeavour to hunt up recondite sources for Bunyan's inspiration has, in truth, been a little overstrained. It is not worth while to go to Sir John Mandeville's "Valley Perilous" for the suggestion of the Valley of the Shadow of Death while we have the twenty-third Psalm; or to the engraving of the Christian Soldier by Jerome Wierix for the arming of the pilgrim while we have the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians; or to De Guileville for the wicket-gate while we have the strait-gate of the Gospels. Neither indeed is it necessary to go back to mediæval chroniclers of whom probably Bunyan never so much as heard, or to De Guileville's "Pilgrimage of Man," or Spenser's "Faery Queen" for the main conception of life as a warfare and a pilgrimage. The thought of life as a warfare goes at least as far back as Paul's

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earnest call to Timothy to fight the good fight of faith; and the conception of life as a pilgrimage, common to all the centuries, carries us back even farther still to those first wanderers from the Chaldean plains, who set forth in search of the city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. Bunyan was steeped in his Bible, and what indebtedness there was was mainly to that. The Dreamer in Bedford gaol derived his inspiration from the same source as the great Florentine who preceded him by more than three centuries. The “Pilgrim’s Progress” is an English flower, as the “Divina Commedia” is a Tuscan flower, grown on Jewish soil. Dante may accept Virgil’s guidance in his mystic pilgrimage through unseen realms, and he may mingle the classic element with the Christian in his visions, but the subject of his great Trilogy—the thought of “the human soul placed for its trial in a fearful and wonderful world, with relations to time and matter, history and nature, good and evil, the beautiful, the intelligible, and the mysterious, sin and grace, the infinite and the eternal” *—this came to Dante as it came to Bunyan, from the Sacred Scriptures, the teachers of both.

And if we may digress for a moment, one can scarcely refrain from referring to one or two points of resemblance between these two heaven-kindled souls, their life and work. First their visions open out alike. Bunyan lights upon a den in the First Part, and wanders into a wood in the Second Part, where he dreams his dream. Dante also finds him-

* R. W. Church—“Dante,” p. 62.

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self in a dark wood and full of sleep when the vision descends upon him. Then both writers treat of invisible things, and lift up to view that ideal of life which the men around, distracted by the interests and passions of the hour, had lost from sight. Alike they are animated by earnest purpose while yet kindling with the glow of imagination, and alike they have the same simple certainty and strength of language, the one wielding the vigorous Tuscan dialect, the other, the picturesque English of the common people round him. Then, too, both these great souls had been schooled in that suffering, out of which so much of life's noblest work has come. The strong earnest face of the great Florentine comes up before us from *la valle d'abisso doloroso*, and his visions are born out of years of disappointment and weary wanderings in exile; while the great Englishman in his inward life tarried long at Sinai to see the fire and the cloud and the darkness, and in his outward life longer still amidst the gloom and captivity of his prison days. At first Dante's Trilogy and Bunyan's Allegory may seem to move in separate spheres, the one taking us into the world of shades, the other confining us to earth and time; but, as a countryman of Dante's with profound insight has shown, there is an underlying unity between the two. They represent the two parts into which, from the Christian point of view, the history of the human soul must be divided, and thus the conceptions of the one complete those of the other. "In the poem of the Englishman," says Zumbini, "we have the first part, the vicissitudes and condition of the soul

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while it is on earth, the first life; in the poem of the Italian we have the last part, the state of the soul in the world beyond, the second life. Death is at once the limit which divides, and the bond which unites the two epics. With Bunyan we reach, but do not pass the threshold of heaven and hell; with Dante, no sooner does the pilgrimage begin than the earthly world is left behind. And yet of these two parts of human history, the one could not exist without the other, and therefore each poet, while taking only one part for his theme, founded his conception upon both, showing his profound understanding of the whole ideal history of the Christian soul.” *

Passing now from the question of the originality of the “Pilgrim's Progress” we come to ask what were the elements of its power, the secret of its success? M. Taine, whose sketch of Bunyan is as like to the Dreamer of Bedford gaol as Roubillac's statue of Shakespeare in its posturing self-consciousness to the great Dramatist himself, has a singularly infelicitous way of accounting for its wide-spread influence. He says: “After the Bible, the book most widely read in England is the ‘Pilgrim's Progress,’ by John Bunyan. The reason is, that the basis of Protestantism is the doctrine of salvation by grace, and that no writer has equalled Bunyan in making this doctrine understood.” † Doubtless Bunyan believed in the doctrine of Justification by Faith, with all his heart and soul, and it lies at the

* “Saggi Critici,” di Bonaventura Zumbini, Napoli, 1876.

† “History of English Literature,” by H. A. Taine, i. p. 398.

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basis, penetrating through and through his conception of the Christian life. But many people have been charmed by this book who do not accept this doctrine, and we must go farther afield for an adequate explanation of the "Pilgrim's" influence. Foremost among its literary qualities is its perfect spontaneousness. It has all the simple freedom of life. There are no signs of toil, no inartistic traces of elaboration; the vision grows up like a flower, effortless and fair. And this not because art has succeeded in concealing art, but because the artist himself has been taken captive by his own creation. It has that one supreme quality of all true inspiration, that it is not so much the man deliberately taking possession of the subject as it is the subject coming down upon and bearing away the man :

Thus it was : I writing of the way
And race of saints, in this our Gospel-day,
Fell suddenly into an allegory
About their journey and the way to glory,
In more than twenty things which I set down ;
This done I twenty more had in my crown,
And they again began to multiply,
Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly.

It has been said that the "Pilgrim's Progress" is the last English book that was written without any thought of a reviewer. It may be said also that it was written without even any thought of a reader :

I did not think
To show to all the world my Pen and Ink,
In such a mode ; I only thought to make,
I knew not what ; nor did I undertake

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Thereby to please my neighbour ; no, not I,
I did it mine own self to gratifie.

The construction of this book, which was to place him among the Immortals, never became to him the serious business of life, the burden of exacting toil :

Neither did I but vacant seasons spend
In this my Scribble ; nor did I intend
But to divert myself in doing this
From worser thoughts which make me do amiss.
Thus I set pen to paper with delight,
And quickly had my thoughts in black and white.
For having now my method by the end,
Still as I pull'd, it came ; and so I penn'd
It down, until it came at last to be,
For length and breadth, the bigness which you see.

This is Bunyan's own account of the production of his own book. He tells us all he knows, but then even he knows not all. Genius is the gift of God, and it is the breath from beyond the instrument that creates the music and gives to it its mystic power of ravishment. That which touches us most deeply is the charm of free life, that indescribable something which lays hold of us wherever we find it, either in the works of genius or the exuberance of sportive childhood, in the jocund gladness of trees and birds and flowers, or in the free wild life of forest and prairie. To get at the secret of that is to get at the mystery of life, that mystery which lies at the fount of being and is wrapped in the shadows which veil it round. Well has it been said that “ the work which man has brooded over, and at last created, is the

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foster-child too of that wisdom which reaches from end to end, strongly and sweetly disposing all things."

The "Pilgrim's Progress," while it has thus free spontaneous life, is marked also by a dramatic unity such as is not always possessed by even greater books. The latest, who is perhaps also the profoundest critic of Spenser's great work,* "The Faery Queen," has contrasted for us its characteristic excellences and defects. He points out its quaint stateliness and grandeur, the stateliness of highly artificial conditions of society, the grandeur like that of some great national spectacle. He dwells upon its wonderful sweetness and beauty—sweetness and beauty like that of the most gorgeous of summer gardens, in the glory and brilliancy of its varied blooms, in the wonder of its strange forms of life, in the changefulness of its exquisite and delicious scents. He points out also that while thus lavish of external beauty Spenser has at the same time joined to it the counter-charm of purity, truth, and duty, this too with a music and melody of verse such as none had reached in English poetry before him. At the same time, as an impartial judge, he is bound to say that on the other side there are in this great English work some very grave defects. The "Faery Queen," he justly says, by its first aspect rather inspires respect than attracts and satisfies, and the reader has therefore to cross the bar and persist in his search before he fairly enters into the spirit of the book. Further, it carries with it no adequate account of its

* "English Men of Letters"—Spenser, by W. R. Church.

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own story, and the poet gives up all attempt to hold the scheme together. Either he exhausts his proper allegory, or he gets tired of it, and the poem becomes a mere receptacle for whatever happens to interest the poet himself. The book has really no unity. As much as the “Arabian Nights” or the “Idylls of the King” it becomes a mere collection of separate tales and allegories. It is simply a wilderness in which the reader is left to wander, and he does not lose his way, because there is no way to lose. The poet once on to his story never knows where to stop. It is like wading among unmown grass. He drowns us in words.

This description of the defects of the “Faery Queen,” by Dean Church, as just as it is powerful, may be almost entirely reversed in the case of the “Pilgrim's Progress.” There is no bar to cross before our interest is aroused. From this first sentence, “As I walked through the wilderness of this world I lighted on a certain place where was a Den, and I laid me down in that place to sleep, and as I slept I dreamed a Dream,” the reader's interest is arrested and retained. The unity of the story is kept up from point to point. There are incongruities, of course, which could easily be pointed out, as there probably must be in any allegory which is long sustained, and in which this matter-of-fact world blends its scenes and surroundings with those of the spiritual universe. But from the moment we see the man in rags setting out with his burden our interest in his fortunes never flags till he is fairly within the portals of the celestial city. The episodes

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by the way never draw us so far aside that we forget the main story, but they rather contribute to its effect. There is no unmown grass of weariness to wade through, no wilderness of tedium in which to wander. Bunyan's characters never linger, and therefore never tire us. As soon as they step on to the scene we feel their personality so vividly that we are sure we should know them again. They proceed at once to instruct or amuse or interest, having done which they disappear, leaving us regretful they have vanished so soon.

The "Pilgrim's Progress" is interesting also not merely for its dramatic unity, but for the rapidity and power with which its characters are drawn. By a few strokes only, sometimes by the mere giving of a name, an abstraction rises up clothed in flesh and blood. We seem at once to know the brisk lad Ignorance, of the country of Conceit; the man Temporary, who lived in a town two miles off of Honesty, and next door to Mr. Turnback; Mr. Anything, Mr. Smoothman, Mr. Facing-both-Ways, Sir Having Greedy, Mr. Highmind, Lady Feigning's daughter, and Mrs. Lechery, who is such a well-bred gentlewoman; Lord Time-server, and Madam Wanton; the young woman whose name was Dull, with her neighbours Slow-pace, Sleepy-head, and Short-wind. How vividly Obstinate stands before us with his dogged pertinacity, Pliable with his feeble vacillation, and Madam Bubble, picture of this vain world—a tall, comely dame, something of a swarthy complexion, who speaks very smoothly, giving you a smile at the end of a sentence, wears a great purse

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by her side, and has her hand often in it, fingering her money as if that was her heart's delight. The forms moving to and fro in the Palace Beautiful—Innocence, Prudence, Piety, and Discretion—are not mere abstractions, but creations of womanly grace, making the place brighter with their presence. What a living personification we have of despair in the man in the iron cage, of terror in the man awaking from his dream of judgment, of earthly-mindedness in the man with the muck-rake. What a picture is presented to us of the way in which a soul can torment itself by vain regrets and bitter self-reproaches as we read how Giant Despair gets him a grievous crab-tree cudgel, and after rating his prisoners like dogs, falls upon them, and beats them fearfully, in such sort that they were not able to help themselves, or to turn them upon the floor. What a picture, too, we have of the shabbiness of a sham life, where hypocrites are described as going “not uprightly, but all awry with their feet; one shoe goes inward, another outward, and their Hosen out behind; there a Rag and there a Rent, to the disparagement of their Lord.”

There is great humanness in the book. We have homely touches about “the dish of milk well-crumbed,” brought out for the boys in the house of Gaius, and humorous thrusts about Hopeful's courage when the thieves were at a distance, and at the way in which “Peter would swagger, ay, he would; but who so foiled and run down by villains as he?” We have touches of pathos which, to use a favourite phrase of Bunyan's, make the water to stand in our

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eyes ; and strokes of pleasantry which bring back the smile to our faces. We walk in the King's gardens, into which the children of the land of Beulah go to gather nosegays for the pilgrims, bringing them to them with much affection. Our senses are regaled with the fragrance of camphor, with spikenard, and saffron, calamus, and cinnamon, with trees of frankincense, myrrh, and aloes, with all chief spices ; and with these the pilgrims' chambers were perfumed while they stayed there. We hear through the interlacings of green leaves the melodious notes of the country birds, and the sweet sounds of distant bells. Then within doors we have the pleasant music of virginals, the social converse round the cheerful table, where the fruit is spread, and where there is the cracking of nuts, and, to keep Old Honest from nodding, the reading of riddles, such riddles as this :

He that will kill, must first be overcome ;
Who live abroad would, first must die at home,

and this other :

A man there was though some did count him mad,
The more he cast away, the more he had.

At another time we find ourselves joining a party of pilgrims who, with country dance, are making merry out of doors over the downfall of Giant Despair. For " Christiana, if need was, could play upon the viol, and her daughter Mercy upon the Lute ; so, since they were so merry disposed, she played them a Lesson, and Ready-to-halt would dance. So he

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took Despondency's Daughter named Much-afraid by the hand, and to dancing they went in the Road. True he could not dance without one Crutch in his hand, but, I promise you, he footed it well. Also the Girl was to be commended, for she answered the music handsomely.”

But with all its homeliness, humour, and humaneness the book is never coarse or unclean. Dean Church, in the sketch of Spenser, to which reference has been made, while doing justice to his great poem, its stateliness and grandeur, its exquisite sweetness and beauty, and the music and melody of its verse, feels compelled to refer to one drawback and say, that Spenser does not know what to leave unsaid; that he gives us pictures from which we shrink, and introduces scenes and descriptions which may have been playfully and innocently produced, but which it is certainly not easy to dwell upon innocently now. On the other hand, Professor Masson, treating of the literature of the Restoration period, calls our attention to the fact that the taste of the tinker of Bedford in matters of speech was more fastidious and cleanly than that of a good many of the scholars and men of letters of the time who had been educated at the universities. This cleanness of speech was the outcome of a lofty ideal of soul. The style is the man, and the man had for the keynote of his book high-minded purity, and for the soul of his religion a noble scorn for all that was base and selfish and mean. The manhood within him had too much self-respect, too much godly loyalty to life's ideal, to bedabble itself in the mire.

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Bunyan's real humanness also led him to deal with man as man apart from all the social distinctions of life.) His book forms a link of transition from Elizabethan to modern times, and, in common with Wordsworth and George Eliot, he possesses this merit, that he sees with profound insight the real greatness of the lowliest life. His characters belong to a commonplace region; they are of the plain burgher type, to be met with every day in an ordinary midland town. Yet what a world of passion glows behind all that quiet exterior! What stern tragedy unfolds itself, what unfathomable depths lie yawning, what delectable heights rise gleaming when the sober grey uplifts itself! The matter-of-fact people met on the road between Bedford town and Elstow village take their place in the great commonwealth of universal thought, and are the revealers of humanity in its grandest aspects and its most sublime relationships. Behind them are the stars, and behind the stars, height over height, are the angels of God. It is this universality of thought that gives to the book its large catholicity of feeling. Once within the charm of its story we are out of the reach of sectarian clamour. He was too much of an Englishman, and too near the days of Queen Mary and the Spanish Armada not to have a fling at the Pope; but with the exception of that passing glance into the cave where the two giants, Pope and Pagan, dwelt in the old time, we have nothing to mark the writer's ecclesiastical whereabouts. Even this Romanists have left out without detriment to his story when they printed his book. That book has

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been truly described as one of the few which act as a religious bond to the whole of English Christendom, as one which, with perhaps six others, and equally with any one of those six has, after the English Bible, contributed to the common religious culture of the Anglo-Saxon race.

He who is nearest to the Bible is nearest to the “Pilgrim's Progress” in its comprehensive Christ-like spirit. He belongs to that region where men are neither of Paul, nor Apollos, nor Cephas, but of Christ. And as there is no nationality in that Christ who on His human side is the universal man, so he whose work comes nearest to Christ comes nearest to the universal heart. This is why the “Pilgrim's Progress” has found its way to almost every people under heaven. It is one of the first books translated by the missionary who seeks to give true thoughts of God and life to heathen men, because it is one of the few books that can easily make themselves at home among nations the most diverse. It lends itself so readily to idiomatic thought and dialectic variety, and so livingly touches the universal heart beating under all nationalities that, as has been beautifully said, “it follows the Bible from land to land as the singing of the birds follows the dawn.” The reason is not far to seek. More than half a century ago Macaulay pointed out that “the ‘Pilgrim's Progress’ is the only book of its kind that possesses a strong human interest, that while other allegories only amuse the fancy, this has been read by thousands with tears.” It not merely gives pleasure to the intellect by its wit and ingenuity, it

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gets hold of the heart by its life-grip. With deepest pathos it enters into that stern battle so real to all of us, into those heart-experiences which make up for all the discipline of life. It is this especially which has given to it the mighty hold which it has always had upon the toiling poor, and made it the one book above all books, well thumbed and worn to tatters among them.

Nor is this its only heart-power. While written specially for no one class, it has found its way to the affections of every class, and secured the homage of cultured and uncultured alike. Every one knows what a charm it has for children; it has a charm, too, for those who are in the thick of the fight, for those also who have reached the quiet evening of life. This charm is that of an ideal future, ever alluring us with its visions of brightness. In language as truthful as it is eloquent it has been said: "In lonely houses of shepherds and ploughmen it is frequently the only indication of any kind of literature that may be seen. They may be careless of the grandeur of their silent glens, they may not have one responsive chord to the subtle loveliness of nature; but their attachment to such books as this shows that the sublime in human life is even a still more subtle factor in the formation of character than the sublime in nature; and on the other hand, that the love of the beautiful cannot be eradicated even by the most slavish toil and hardship. Such people will spell over the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' after a hard day's work, by their farthing rushlight, and they will laugh, and exult, and tremble, and sigh with poor

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Christian when they do not even understand what is meant by the celestial country for which this homely hero with the burden on his shoulder is bound, and without measure they can all dream of the solace and glory of so heavenly a paradise."*

* David Sime.

XIII

INTERVAL BETWEEN THE "PILGRIM'S PROGRESS" AND THE "HOLY WAR," 1676-1682

BUNYAN wrote the First Part of the "Pilgrim's Progress" when he was forty-seven, and the Second Part when he was fifty-five, the "Holy War" coming in between. What may therefore be regarded as the flowering time of his genius came late in life. In this respect he more nearly resembles his great contemporary, John Milton, while contrasting with that other gifted soul, with whom, otherwise, he had so many points in common—Robert Burns. Bunyan and Burns, alike in their simple ancestry, their original genius and their wonderful heart power over men in every walk of life, came thus variously to the full development of their powers. Burns had done most of his best work before he was thirty, and had passed away before he was forty, while at fifty Bunyan stood scarcely midway between the two parts of his greatest work, Milton bearing him company so far as this that his "Paradise Lost" was not produced till he was fifty-seven. It may be mentioned

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by the way that while Bunyan's mother died when he was a youth of fifteen, his father, Thomas Bunyan, the old tinker of Elstow, lived on till 1676, being buried according to the parish register on February 7 in that year. The old man seems always to have kept in the communion of the Church of England. What he thought of his son's career and convictions in later years, whether he was proud of his popularity and influence, or disapproved of his perversely resisting the authorities of the time, nothing remains to show. His will has been preserved in the District Registry, and if its language may be taken as the expression of his own religious feeling he was not altogether out of spiritual sympathy with this son who went his diverse way. As giving us some items of information about the Bunyan family at this time, the reader may like to see this will for himself.

"In the name of God, Amen, the two and twentieth day of Jany., 1675 [1675-6], according to the computation of the Church of England, I, Thomas Bunyan of Elnestow in the county of Bedford, Braseyer, being of perfit memory and Remembrance, praised bee God Doe make and ordaine this my Last Will and Testament in manner and forme following, viz. : first, I bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God my Maker, hoping that throug the meritorious death and passion of Jesus Christ my only Saviour and Redeemer to receive pardon for my sins. And as for my body to bee buried in Christian buriall at the discretion of my Executors hereinafter nominated. Imprimis I give unto my Sonne John Bunyan

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one shilling. And unto my sonne Thomas I give one shilling. And unto my daughter Mary Bunyan I give one shilling. And unto my daughter Elizabeth Bunyan I give one shilling. All of them to bee paid within a yeare after my death. And all the rest of my goods and all that I have I leave with Anne my wife to doe with what she pleases and to be at her own disposing.”*

This will, signed with a reversed *q* as a mark, was attested by Robert Rose, Michael Gilbe, and Samuel Gale. The bequests to his children are not to be supposed to mean that Thomas Bunyan cut off his sons and daughters with the customary shilling of ironical or irate testators. The smallness of his legacies must rather be taken as indicating the scantiness of his means. The returns from Bedfordshire for the Hearth Tax of 1673-4 have been preserved in the Record Office, giving the names of every householder in the county, both those who paid taxes on their chimneys and those who were too poor to pay. Among the latter we find Thomas Bunyan, of the parish of Elstow, who was exempted by legal certificate.† The parish register informs us that his widow Ann Bunyan was “buried in Woolen, September 25th, 1680.”

Once more, and finally, released from prison, John Bunyan was again at work among the Nonconformists of Bedfordshire, whose numbers seem to have

* “Bedfordshire Wills,” 1675-6, No. 74.

† “Subsidies”—Bedfordshire: Hearth Tax, 25 Car, II.—Elstow.

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steadily grown in spite of the measures used for their repression.

During politically stirring times also he went on writing his books, and looking out upon the storm, not knowing whether it would blow him to the haven of settled liberty or once more on to the rocks of prison life. Having for convenience' sake already considered together the two parts of the "Pilgrim's Progress" and leaving for future consideration the "Holy War," we may now briefly glance at the other books which belong to this period of our Author's life.

It has been already mentioned that the dedication of the little work entitled "Instruction for the Ignorant," dated 1675, was written in prison. It was published by Bunyan's old friend Francis Smith, the copy of the first edition in the Bodleian being the only one known to be in existence. The book was sent forth, the writer says, as "a salve to cure that great want of knowledge which so much reigns both in young and old." The same year also there appeared the book entitled "Saved by Grace," which Charles Doe places between the catechism just referred to and the discourse on "The Strait Gate." In this work on Salvation by Grace there are one or two foregleams of the greater book by which it was immediately followed.

We seem to see the tears welling up to his eyes and to hear his voice, tremulous with emotion, as we read this characteristic passage about the grace of Christ to sinful man :

"Thou Son of the Blessed, what grace was mani-

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fest in thy condescension! Grace brought thee down from heaven, grace stripped thee of thy glory, grace made thee poor and despicable, grace made thee bear such burdens of sin, such burdens of sorrow, such burdens of God's curse as are unspeakable. O Son of God! grace was in all thy tears, grace came bubbling out of thy side with thy blood, grace came forth with every word of thy sweet mouth. Grace came out where the whip smote thee, where the thorns pricked thee, where the nails and spear pierced thee. O blessed Son of God! Here is grace indeed! Unsearchable riches of grace! Unthought-of riches of grace! Grace to make angels wonder, grace to make sinners happy, grace to astonish devils. And what will become of them that trample under foot this Son of God?"

This book on Salvation by Grace, having gone from his hand he entered upon another which was probably the expansion of a sermon preached during his three years of liberty, and entitled "The Strait Gate," or the Great Difficulty of going to heaven. The stress of the book is against an unreal profession of Christian life, against the "many that make Christ's word and his name, and his ways, a stalking-horse to their own worldly advantage."

After these three books which belong to 1675-6 came, as we have already seen, the First Part of the "Pilgrim's Progress." The same year this was published, in addition to the sending forth a second edition, in which Mr. Worldly Wiseman first appears, Bunyan gave to the world his "Come and Welcome

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to Jesus Christ," which first saw the light in 1678. It was the enlargement of a sermon on John vi. 37, the words of which—Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out—had been like heaven's balm to his own heart-wounds in his days of spiritual struggle. Salvation he tells us, has its roots in fatherly love; "I myself have often found that when I can say but this word Father, it doth me more good than when I call Him by any other Scripture name."

This book, "Come and Welcome," with its musical title and soul-moving pleas, was published for Bunyan by "B. Harris, at Stationers Arms in Swithings Rents in Cornhill, 1678." His next book, like his "Pilgrim," came out under the auspices of Nathaniel Ponder. It was entitled "A Treatise of the Fear of God," and was published in 1679. It has for a frontispiece a woodcut reproduction of Robert White's engraved sleeping portrait of Bunyan, prefixed to the third edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress," and at the end there is the following note: "Errata's. Reader, thou art desired to correct these errata's (with some others) which were occasioned by the Printer, by reason of the absence of the Author." The treatise is founded on the words, "Blessed is every one that feareth the Lord." The following year appeared his "Life and Death of Mr. Badman." This book also was published through Nathaniel Ponder, and, as we have seen, was meant to be the companion picture to his "Pilgrim." It was thrown into dialogue form after the manner of Arthur Dent's "Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven," one of the two books Bunyan's first wife brought him in his far-off Elstow days. The

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resemblance between Dent's work and Bunyan's is too close to be merely accidental. In each the dialogue is supposed to be carried on through one long day. Bunyan's Mr. Wiseman, like Dent's Theologus, holds forth instructive discourse, while the Mr. Attentive of the former, like the Philagathus of the latter, listens and draws on his teacher by friendly questionings. There is not in Bunyan's conference, as there is in Dent's, an Asunetus, who plays the part of an ignorant man, to come out enlightened and convinced at last, or an Antilegon who carps and cavils all the way; and there is not in Dent's book what there is in Bunyan's, a biographical narrative connecting the various parts of the dialogue; but the groundwork of each is the same—a searching manifestation of the nature and evils of pride, uncleanness, swearing, dishonesty, lying, and drunkenness.

There is in this book not a little powerful writing, not a little keen insight into character and knowledge of life, but it is impossible to read it without feeling that artistically it is beneath the level of the "Pilgrim" story which went before it. It would be easy to point out many vividly picturesque and life-like touches in the book, but the book as a whole is weighted, as the "Pilgrim" is not, by a series of otherwise excellent dissertations on lying, swearing, stealing, impurity, dishonest bankruptcy, pride, and the like, which run on to such length that you lose the thread of the narrative while listening to the moralities of the sermon. Then, too, there are stories introduced by the way which are sometimes clownish, sometimes commonplace, and sometimes simply un-

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believable now, though Bunyan evidently believed them then. Yet, with all these deductions, we may assent in the main to Mr. Froude's admirable summing-up of the book when he says, "It is extremely interesting merely as a picture of vulgar English life in a provincial town, such as Bedford was when Bunyan lived there. The drawing is so good, the details so minute, the conception so unexaggerated, that we are disposed to believe that we must have a real history before us. But such a supposition is only a compliment to the skill of the composer. . . . Bunyan conceals nothing, assumes nothing, and exaggerates nothing. He makes his bad man sharp and shrewd. He allows sharpness and shrewdness to bring him the rewards which such qualities in fact command. Bad-man is successful; he is powerful; he enjoys all the pleasures which money can buy; his bad wife helps him to ruin, but otherwise he is not unhappy, and he dies in peace. Bunyan has made him a brute, because such men do become brutes. It is the real punishment of brutal and selfish habits. There the figure stands: a picture of a man in the ranks of English life with which Bunyan was most familiar, travelling along the primrose path to the everlasting bonfire, as the way to Emmanuel's Land was through the Slough of Despond and the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Pleasures are to be found among the primroses, such pleasures as a brute can be gratified by; yet the reader feels that even if there were no bonfire, he would still prefer to be with Christian." *

* "English Men of Letters"—Bunyan, pp. 112-113.

XIV

MANSOUL AND THE BEDFORD CORPORATION

AFTER the appearance of the "Life and Death of Mr. Badman" in 1680, we have nothing further from Bunyan's pen for the next two years. During this time, however, he was engaged upon his second greatest work, "The Holy War, made by Shaddai upon Diabolus."* It was published by Dorman Newman, at the King's Arms in the Poultry in 1682, and Macaulay has said of it that it would have been our greatest religious allegory if the "Pilgrim's Progress" had never been written. Perhaps there would be more discrimination in saying that in the subtlety of its psychological distinctions and the completeness of its details the "Holy War" is superior to the "Pilgrim's Progress," but that judged by the standard of epic completeness, and by the power of laying hold of the simple instincts of the heart, it is greatly inferior. The characters in the former work are mere abstractions when compared

* A copy of the First Edition was sold at Sotheby's, June 1902, for £149.

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with those of the latter. Captain Credence and Captain Conviction, for example, are shadowy shapes indeed by the side of Mr. Greatheart in his brave humanness, or Old Honest in his sturdy directness. Both books are alike in this, that while they move in the region of the spiritual and supernatural, they at the same time tread the common earth, their scenes and circumstances being drawn from the writer's actual surroundings.

If it be true, as has been said, that in the "Pilgrim's Progress" "Bunyan's men are not merely life portraits but English portraits, men of the solid, practical, unimpassioned Midland race," it is also true that in the "Holy War" we move in the midst of many of the scenes and surroundings through which Bunyan himself had moved. He may, like Milton, take us down to Pandemonium when Diabolus is in council, or up to the central heaven where the purposes of the Eternal are unfolded; but Mansoul itself, with its walls, gates, strongholds, and sally-port, largely took shape in his mind from the garrison at Newport Pagnell, or the fortifications of the New-arke at Leicester. The army of Shaddai, with its captains clad in armour, its forces marching, counter-marching, opening to the right and to the left, dividing and subdividing, closing, wheeling, making good their front and rear, with their right and left wings, the handling of their arms, the management of their weapons of war, which "were marvellous taking to Mansoul and me," all these were reminiscences of Cromwell's army of the new model, and of the military manœuvres in which he himself had

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taken part under Sir Samuel Luke. So again Diabolus new modelling the corporation, changing mayor, recorder, aldermen, and burgesses at pleasure, was simply doing the same thing the king and Lord Ailesbury were doing at Bedford about the time the "Holy War" was written. The taking away of the town charter also and the granting of another which was read to the people of Mansoul in the open market-place, are scenes bearing strong resemblance to those in which Lord Bruce took part before the old Guildhall in Bedford town when Bunyan was living there.

The year 1681, when Bunyan was engaged upon the composition of the "Holy War," was a year of grave reaction in the government of the country. On January 18, Charles dissolved his fourth Parliament, and shortly after summoned his fifth. This again met one Monday to be dissolved the next, and during the remaining four years of his reign the King summoned no more Parliaments, resolving, like his father before him, to govern without them. But while trampling upon the constitution, he desired to do so with a look of fair seeming. From Whitehall he issued a Declaration explaining why he had dissolved his two last Parliaments. The House, he said, had stood in his way in carrying out the laws against the Nonconformists, and upon it, not upon the Crown, must rest the blame of all unconstitutional proceedings. The document was shrewdly constructed to catch the sympathy of the High Church party, and it succeeded. The Declaration was ordered to be read in all churches and chapels during

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divine service, and was responded to by loyal addresses sent up by that party from all sides of the country. Not the least obsequious of these was "The Humble Address of the Lieutenant, Deputy-Lieutenant, Justices of the Peace, Military Officers, Clergy, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of Bedford," in which they speak of "His Majesty's Princely goodness, justice, and mercy, and of the benign influence of his most equal and prudent Government."

Such addresses, as Burnet tells us, were very welcome at Court, and were encouraged to the utmost. The London apprentices were put into the way of sending one, so were the sailors and watermen. Those who brought them were well received, healths were drunk, and the old cavalier swaggerings revived. Encouraged in this way, the King resolved to make a systematic attack upon the municipal charters of the country. The old corporations had great influence in the election of members to Parliament, for if the burgesses determined who the members should be, the corporations determined who the burgesses should be. The King therefore resolved to secure the control of the corporations, and through them of Parliament. London was dealt with first, and afterwards, on one pretence or another, borough after borough was compelled to surrender its ancient privileges, and accept a new charter at the hands of the King.

Charles's last Parliament was dissolved on March 28, 1681, and a few weeks later an Order in Council was made to inquire whether all the officials of the Bedford Corporation had complied with the regulations.

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It was found that Miles Wale and Andrew Freebody, the chamberlains of the town, had not taken the sacrament at Church within twelve months of their being elected; their places thereupon were declared void till they had duly qualified. The following December the Deputy-Recorder of the town, Mr. Robert Audley, was accused at the council at Whitehall of being "an enemy to the Government and to the Church of England, and a great countenancer of conventicles and phanaticks in the town of Bedford. And though there many other aldermen disaffected, yet he was the great head and pillar of the disaffected party."* The Earl of Ailesbury, whose country seat was at Houghton House, near Ampthill, who was Lord-Lieutenant of the county, one of the Privy Council, and also hand-in-glove with the King in his policy, moved thereupon that Mr. Audley and other aldermen should be displaced by virtue of the Corporation Act. The town was troubled at this, and prevailed on the Recorder to appear at the council table on his own behalf and theirs, which he did. In his sturdy English fashion, we are interested in reading, old Mr. Audley told the King that he was Recorder of Bedford, that he was an officer under the King's father throughout the whole war, and that when the war was over he was driven out of the kingdom and his estate sequestered. He went on to say that he was as truly loyal now as he was then; that so far from being a conventicler, he was never at a conventicle in his life, but if the conventiclors preached as well as they were reported to him to do,

* Dr. Williams' MS.—"Morrice's Entering Book."

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and churchmen as ill as those did that he had heard of late, he thought it not unlikely that he might go to conventicles yet, but at present his acquaintance lay chiefly with the opposite sort. And so the complaint fell, and Mr. Audley went home again.* We are all the more interested in this because the conventicle preacher for whom the Recorder spoke up was no other than Bunyan himself, and the conventicle referred to was the barn in Mill Lane towards which our thoughts have so often been turned.

But though the old man was for the moment victorious at Whitehall, his enemies soon found other means of working their will. In the minute book of the Bedford Corporation we have this entry—"It is ordained that from henceforth Mr. Audley, y^e Deputy Recorder, shall not have any vote in Common Councill or other Assemblies of the Corporacon." Still later, things are still going against him, we find, as we read a private letter from Lord Bruce to the Mayor, who is none other than our old acquaintance of 1661, Paul Cobb, who went to Bunyan in prison and tried to bring him to what he thought a more reasonable state of mind: "Mr. Mayor," says Lord Bruce, "I received your letter, and am glad to find by it that you have made so good a choice in y^e room of Mr. Audley. I have taken occasion to applaud your actions since you came in your office where it was well resented." This little episode is strongly suggestive of that passage in the "Holy War" where Diabolus bethinks himself of new-modelling the town of Mansoul, setting up one and putting down

* Dr. Williams' MS.—"Morrice's Entering Book," i. 320.

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another at pleasure, and where he puts Mr. Recorder, whose name was Conscience, out of place and power. "For as for Mr. Recorder, he was a man of courage and faithfulness, to speak truth at every occasion, and he had a tongue as bravely hung as he had a head filled with judgment. Now this man Diabolus could by no means abide, because he could not by all wiles, trials, stratagems, and devices that he could use make him wholly his own."

The displacement of Mr. Audley, who was before the Privy Council about the time Bunyan was writing this passage, was a small part of the process of change to be carried out in the Bedford Corporation. In the month of October 1683, no less than fifty-three persons were at one stroke admitted to the burgessdom of the town, all of them picked men on the King's side. Among these we find the two younger sons of the Earl of Ailesbury, Sir Francis Wingate, William Foster and his son, and many of the surrounding gentry and clergy, whose primary qualification was that they were men on whom Mr. Cobb and his colleagues could rely. The next month, again, twenty-three more were added from the families of the Dyves, the Chesters, and from the sons of safe men already enrolled. Seventy-six new burgesses, on whom reliance could be placed, added to a limited burgess list in the short space of two months made succeeding steps comparatively easy. When all preparations had thus been carefully made, on January 8, 1684, "It is agreed, consented, concluded and ordeyned unto, by and with the consent of y^e Maior, Aldermen, Bayliffes, Burgesses, and Comonalty

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in this present Councell, That y^e Charter of this Corporacon bee surrendered and given up to His Majestie, and that the Maior of this Corporation doe take and carry up the Charter to doe the same: And that His Majestie bee humbly petitioned to grant the town a new one with like privileges as the former was, or such other privileges as hee shall bee pleased to grant." *

It was not long before the Nonconformists of Bedfordshire were made to feel the fury of the returning storm. The instigators of this new crusade were the Earl of Ailesbury and his son, Lord Bruce, whom we have so often met with in the course of our story.† Lord Ailesbury lived at Houghton House, near Ampthill, the house whose dismantled ruins now overlook the vale of Bedford. He was *Custos Rotulorum*, and in a somewhat arbitrary manner ordered the General Sessions of the Bedfordshire magistrates of 1684–5 to be held at Ampthill instead of at Bedford as usual. For the first time and the last this was done on January 14 in that year. At these sessions, over which the Earl presided, the Court resolved—

“That all such Laws as had been provided for the reducing all Dissenters to a thorow Conformity shall be forthwith put into a speedy and vigorous execution. We do, therefore, with the concurrence of the

* Minute Book of the Corporation.

† It is curious to note that Lady Augusta Stanley, one of the Bruces of Elgin, and therefore the direct representative of these very noblemen who persecuted Bunyan and his people, was the one who in 1874 unveiled the statue to Bunyan's memory erected by the Duke of Bedford.

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Right Rev. Father in God our most worthy, learned, and godly Lord Bishop, desire all ministers and require as well all constables and churchwardens, truly and punctually to present, both at our Quarter Sessions and Monthly Meetings, all such, in their respective Parishes, as shall absent themselves from their own Parish Church; also those who do not come at the beginning of Divine Service, kneeling at all Prayers, and standing up at the Glory, at the Creed, and Hymns. By which means we hope in time the true worship of God will be thoroughly understood and honestly practised by the people of this country, to God's glory and our own Peace and Comfort."

This order, issued by the magistrates, was printed as a broadside, surmounted by the Royal arms, and beneath the order was an address from the bishop of the diocese—that Bishop Barlow who has obtained some reputation by his exceedingly mild interference on Bunyan's behalf. This address of the bishop lays it down that seeing it is a certain truth that subjects are bound to obey their rulers, and since there is such an excellent Liturgy provided—

"The Rejection of this and the Disobedience to the Laws injoyning it render our *Dissenters* evidently SCHISMATICAL" in their separation from the communion of our Church. And seeing that our Dissenting Brethren will not conform out of conscience to their duty and obedience to God and their Governours, it is not only convenient but necessary that our good Laws be put in execution for the Preservation of the Public Peace and Unity, and for the good of Dis-

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senters themselves ; for *Afflictio dat Intellectum* and their sufferings by the execution of our Just Laws may (by God's blessing) bring them to a sense of Duty and a Desire to do it. For the attaining of which good ends I require all the Clergy of my Diocese within the County of Bedford to publish this Order the next Sunday after it be tendered to them, and diligently to promote the design of it."*

This order thus sent forth on the cynical plea that *afflictio dat intellectum*, or, in plain English, that persecution would bring the Nonconformists to their senses—an assumption which is contradicted by all the facts of history—was read far beyond the borders of Bedfordshire, and brought forth a letter of grave and earnest remonstrance from the great Nonconformist, John Howe. This eminent Englishman, conspicuous alike for eloquence of speech and elevation of mind, said to Bishop Barlow :

“ As I must confess myself surprised by your late published directions to your clergy of the County of Bedford, so nor will I dissemble that I did read them with some trouble of mind, which I sincerely profess was more upon your Lordship's account than my own (who for myself am little concerned) or any other particular person's whatsoever. . . . I humbly offer to your Lordship's further consideration, whether it be not a supposable thing that some persons sound in the faith, strictly orthodox in all the articles of it taught by our Lord Jesus or his Apostles, resolvedly loyal and subject to the authority of their governors in Church and State,

* Ashmolean Collection, Bodl. ii. 23.

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of pious, sober, peaceable, just, charitable dispositions and deportments, may yet have a formed, fixed judgment of the unlawfulness of some or other of the rites and modes of worship, enjoined to be observed in this Church? Is there no difference to be put between things *essential* to our religion and things confessed *indifferent* on the one hand, and on the other judged *unlawful*, on both hands but *accidental*? (though they that think them *unlawful* dare not allow themselves a liberty of sinning even in *accidentals*).

“But we must, it seems, understand all this rigour your Lordship shows to proceed from love, and that you are for destroying the Dissenters only to mend their understandings, and because *afflictio dat intellectum*. I hope, indeed, God will sanctify the affliction which you give and procure them, to blessed purposes; and perhaps *periissent nisi periissent*: but for the purposes your Lordship seems to aim at, I wonder what you can expect. Can you by undoing men change the judgment of their consciences? Or if they should tell you, We do indeed in our consciences judge we shall greatly offend God by complying with your injunctions, but yet to save being undone we will do it: will this qualify them for your communion? . . . I pray God to rectify your error by gentler methods, and by less affliction than you have designed to your brethren: and do not for all this doubt (any more for your part than my own) to meet you there one day, *where Luther and Zuinglius are well agreed*.”*

* “Letter to Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln.” Howe’s Works, iii. 552-555.

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What effect this high-minded appeal produced upon the Bishop there is nothing to show. As we shall see hereafter, he was on the verge of anxious days for himself, when he would find out by a deeper experience the truth of his own saying, that trouble opens men's eyes. Meantime, at this point, it may be well to go back a little and review the course of Bunyan's literary activity since last we met with anything from his pen. During the three years between the publication of the "Holy War," in 1682, and the death of the King in the early part of 1685, he sent forth a poetical broadside and five books, one of these being the second part of the "Pilgrim's Progress," which appeared in 1684. The "Barren Fig-tree" was published in 1682, the "Greatness of the Soul" and "A Case of Conscience Resolved" in 1683, while "Seasonable Counsels," "A Holy Life the Beauty of Christianity," and "A Caution to Watch against Sin" came out along with the story of Christiana in 1684.

Of the first of these, "The Barren Fig-tree, or the Doom and Downfall of the Fruitless Professor," no copy of the first edition is known to exist. The earliest we have is a reprint made immediately after Bunyan's death in 1688, by J. Robinson, of the Golden Lion, St. Paul's Churchyard, and having a broad black border round the title. The work itself is an exposition of our Lord's parable in the thirteenth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, and is a soul-searching appeal against unreality in the religious life. There is in it the plainest of plain speaking, of which there seems to have been then,

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as always, an urgent need. There were some in the churches, he tells us, asking the question, Who had a right to the good things of this life if Christians had not? "And from this conclusion they let go the reins of their inordinate affections after pride, ambition, gluttony; pampering themselves without fear, daubing themselves with the lust-provoking fashions of the times, walking with stretched-out necks, naked breasts, frizzled foretops, wanton gestures, in gorgeous apparel, mixed with gold and pearl and costly array."

This book was followed in 1683 by the one on "The Greatness of the Soul and the Unspeakableness of the Loss Thereof," which was originally a sermon preached at Pinners' Hall on one of Bunyan's visits to London, and afterwards "enlarged and published for good," through Benjamin Alsop, at the Angel and Bible in the Poultry. In this the preacher shows what the soul is in its powers and properties, what its greatness is, what it is to lose the soul, and for what causes men do this. The text (Mark viii. 37) comes after an appeal from Christ to count the cost of following Him: "For following of me is not like following of some other masters. The wind sits always on my face, and the foaming rage of the sea of this world, and the proud and lofty waves thereof do continually beat upon the sides of the bark or ship that myself, my cause, and my followers are in; he therefore that will not run hazards, and that is afraid to venture a drowning, let him not set foot into this vessel." Speaking in one part of his subject of the loss of the soul, he

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touches with his own tender pathos upon the saving love of Christ: "Dost thou understand me, sinful soul? He wrestled with justice that thou mightest have rest; He wept and mourned that thou mightest laugh and rejoice; He was betrayed that thou mightest go free, was apprehended that thou mightest be justified, and was killed that thou mightest live; He wore a crown of thorns that thou mightest wear a crown of glory; and was nailed to the cross with His arms wide open, to show with what freeness all His merits shall be bestowed on the coming soul, and how heartily he will receive it into His bosom!"

The little work entitled "A Case of Conscience Resolved," which came into the same year, was also published by Benjamin Alsop, and was called forth by the request of some Christian women in London for Bunyan's judgment on the propriety of their meeting separately for prayer, and "without their men." Founding his opinion on what the apostle says about women keeping silence in the churches, he gives judgment against the practice, expressing the fear that it is idleness in the men which is the cause of their putting their good women upon this work. "Surely they that can scarce tie their shoes and their garters before they arrive at the tavern, or get to the coffee-house door in a morning, can scarce spare time to be a while in their closets with God! Morning closet-prayers are now by most London professors thrown away, and what kind of ones they make at night God doth know, and their conscience, when awake, will know. However, I have cause as to this to look at home.

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And God mend me and all his servants about it, and wherein we else are out."

The following year Bunyan again appealed to Christian men to walk worthy of their calling, in "A Caution to stir up to watch against Sin," which appeared in the form of a half-sheet broadside, dated "8 Aprill, 1684," and which Narcissus Luttrell tells us he bought for a penny on that same day. It is a poem in sixteen stanzas, each stanza closing with a variation of a refrain which calls upon the reader to keep sin out of door, lest entrance it may gain and never leave him more. To the same purpose is a treatise Bunyan published through Benjamin Alsop that same year, founded on the words, "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity," and entitled, "A Holy Life the Beauty of Christianity." He would have men take religion as it comes, not picking and choosing the easy things and leaving those in which there is real cross-bearing. "For example, there is reading, praying, hearing of sermons, baptism, breaking of bread, church fellowship, preaching, and the like; and there is mortification of lusts, charity, simplicity, open-heartedness, with a liberal hand to the poor, and their like also. Now the unsound faith picks and chooses, and takes and leaves, but the true faith does not so." He has no wish to be austere, "but were wearing of gold, putting on of apparel, dressing up houses, decking of children, learning of compliments, boldness in women. lechery in men, wanton behaviour, lascivious words and tempting carriages, signs of repentance, then I must say, the fruits of repentance swarm in our land ;

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but if these be none of the fruits of repentance, then, O, the multitude of professors that religiously name the name of Christ and do not depart from iniquity."

The only other book which Bunyan sent out in 1684, and which, like so many of his at this period, was published by Benjamin Alsop, was emphatically a book for the times—those times of trial and persecution through which the Church of God was still passing. It is entitled "Seasonable Counsel; or Advice to Sufferers," * and is worthy of note, first, as containing several sentences almost identical with some found in the letters to the persecuted entered in the "Church Book," showing the same hand in both, and next as being a sort of manifesto of Bunyan's loyalty to the Government in spite of the sufferings he had endured at their hands. The magistrate, he says, is God's ordinance, and for conscience' sake we must obey him. If there be no conscience, there is no real obedience: "I speak not these things as knowing any that are disaffected to the Government; for I love to be alone, if not with godly men, in things that are convenient. But because I appear thus in public, and know not into whose hands these lines may come, therefore thus I write. I speak it also to show my loyalty to the king, and my love to my fellow-subjects and my desire that all Christians should walk in ways of peace and truth." Elsewhere, also, in words that show the wonderful childlike simplicity of the man,

* "Seasonable Counsel: or, Advice to Sufferers." By John Bunyan. London: Printed for Benjamin Alsop, MDCLXXXIV.

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he says, "For my part I have oftentimes stood amazed both at the mercy of God and the favour of the Prince towards us, and can give thanks to God for both; and do make it my prayer to God for the King, and that God will help me with meekness and patience to bear whatever shall befall me for my professed subjection to Christ by men."

There is a fore-word to the Christian reader in the book, telling him that since many at that day are exposed to sufferings he gives this word that they may take heed to themselves, and that they that suffer may commit their souls to God as unto a faithful Creator. Remember that in trial God hath one purpose and Satan quite another. It is the soul that Satan is aiming at, the ruin of that he hath bent himself to bring to pass. "'Ware hawk," saith the falconer, when the dogs are near her. But our safety is in God; commit the keeping of your souls unto him. Satan can make a jail look as black as hell, and the loss of a few stools and chairs as bad as the loss of so many bags of gold. But God can make fear flee away and place heavenly confidence in its room. He can bring invisible and eternal things to the eye of thy soul and make thee see that in those things in which thine enemies shall see nothing, that thou shalt count worth a thousand lives to enjoy. He can pull such things out of his bosom and can put such things into thy mouth; can make thee choose rather to be gone even though through the flames than to stay and die even in silken sheets. He can make things fearful and terrible to become things delightful and desirable.

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He can make a jail more beautiful than a palace, restraint more sweet by far than liberty. The three in Babylon saw one like the Son of God walking with them in the fire, and Daniel the hands of the angels that were made muzzles for the mouths of the lions. Was it not worth being in the furnace and in the den to see such things as these?

Thus, then, there was light from the throne of God, water from the eternal fountains, help from the everlasting hills for Bunyan and his brethren in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ. They had sore need of it all in 1684, when this "Seasonable Counsel" saw the light, for, through the pelting of pitiless storm they were still urging their way to the city of God. As the Church records show, they were able to hold "scarcely any meetings of the Church between the August of that year and the month of December 1686. As in 1670, some of them were driven from their homes, ruined by fines, or shut up in jail. And in these stern experiences they were not alone. In some places matters proceeded to such extremity that at last humane magistrates refused to grant any more convictions, resorting on the bench to all sorts of evasions of the law for the purpose of saving men who were too resolute to save themselves. This leniency, however, was of course only partial. In the parish of Hackney fifty distress warrants, amounting to £1400, were issued in one month; and two hundred in the town of Uxbridge.* In Southwark, Nathaniel Vincent

* "Life of Lord William Russell," by Lord John Russell, p. 255.

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was dragged from his pulpit by the hair of his head, while in the City of London, John Wesley's grandfather, Dr. Annesley, had his house broken into, his meeting-place forced and its fittings destroyed. The Quakers were, however, in this year, as in previous years, the most numerous and the most serious sufferers, and the special mark of the worst forms of the rowdyism of the time. At Leicester, for example, we find the soldiers quartered in the town sending a black drummer into the Quakers' meeting, to mimic the worshippers, while the captain and his company brought in ale and tobacco, and proceeded to smoke and drink and insult the women who were gathered with them.* Elsewhere also we find their meetings broken in upon by noisy revellers with drum and fiddle, and their wives and daughters stripped of scarf and hood in rude derision, while seven hundred Friends were that year reported to be shut up in jail.

In the midst of all this lawlessness came the shadow of death among the persecutors themselves. On January 14, 1685, the Earl of Ailesbury presided at the Ampthill meeting of the Bedfordshire justices, from which went forth that order against the Non-conformists of the county which John Howe branded as unreasonable and unchristian. Within three weeks of that day Lord Ailesbury's son, Thomas, Lord Bruce, was standing with other men of rank in the royal bedchamber, when the King gave a sharp cry, staggered, and fell into his arms insensible and stricken for death.† The end of his ignoble reign

* Roger Morrice—"MS. Entering Book."

† *Ld. Ailesbury's letter, Gent. Mag., April 1795.*

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had come, and before the next Sunday he had been received into the Roman Catholic Church and had gone up to his great account. Within that same year also the Earl of Ailesbury himself had finished his life-work, and had vanished from court-house and council-chamber to the regions of the dead. So suddenly do things turn round in this strange world of ours, and so unexpectedly was constitutional liberty saved at the very moment when despotism seemed to be most sure of its victory.

XV

IN THE REIGN OF JAMES THE SECOND

ON Friday, February 6, 1685, Charles the Second passed away, and the same day his successor, as James the Second, met his first Privy Council. The advent of the new king saved the liberties of the country, but more through persistent blundering than deliberate intention. He had even less love for constitutional government and religious freedom than his easy-going brother; but these principles were in less danger now than before, for the simple reason that he was more daring in his attempt to subvert them. Happily for the liberties of England, the new monarch was one of those narrow, obstinate men who, when they happen to take up an evil cause, bring it to ruin by the very precipitancy of their haste to serve it. More than anything else in life James II. desired to see the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in England. As Duke of York he had hitherto heard mass with closed doors; now the doors were thrown open. During Lent the palace sermons were preached by Popish divines, and when it was over, Easter was celebrated

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with unusual splendour. Easter was followed by the coronation, from the ceremonies of which there was the marked absence of the Communion Service and of the customary presentation to the monarch of an English Bible. People generally understood the meaning of the omission, and the situation was expressed with Quaker-like directness by that follower of George Fox who said to the King, "We are told that thou art no more of the persuasion of the Church of England than we are; we hope, therefore, thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself."

But the fierceness of the struggle was not yet, and meantime the gaiety of the coronation was followed by the excitement of a general election. This came at a time when the Court party and the Tory feeling were supreme. The counties were for the most part safe, and the majority of the boroughs having surrendered their charters and suffered their corporations to be manipulated, were sure to return such men as the King could rely upon. The town of Bedford, the neighbouring squires having been brought into the burgess-lists in troops, returned Sir Anthony Chester, the son of that Justice Chester who had borne hard upon Bunyan's wife in the Swan chamber, and Thomas Christie, the local lawyer who, with Paul Cobb, had been actively concerned in the surrender of the Town Charter.

The result the country through was as the King would have it. With considerable satisfaction he observed that, with the exception of about forty members, it was such a House as he would have

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nominated himself. The Parliament of Scotland had met already, and was also entirely subservient, passing at the King's request a statute framed by his own minister, and enacting that whoever should preach in a conventicle under a roof, or attend as preacher or hearer a conventicle in the open air, should suffer confiscation of property and death. The Covenanting shires of Scotland were in consequence handed over to the cruelties of Graham of Claverhouse, and to the licence of his army. It was hoped that the Parliament of England, when it met on May 19, would follow the example set by that of Scotland. Of the five hundred and thirteen members three hundred and seventy-eight were new to the House, and the Whig party, which before had been in a majority, was now reduced to a minority no greater than a fifteenth part of the whole. But even though thus constituted, this Parliament was not obsequious after the manner of that in the north, but was resolute in maintaining the Test Act and keeping Roman Catholics out of office. Shortly after the session commenced, the House of Commons resolved itself into a Grand Committee of Religion, and in that committee passed two resolutions, one expressing fervent attachment to the Church of England, the other calling upon the King to publish a proclamation for putting into execution the laws against all dissenters whatsoever from the Church of England. The King, as we might expect, was greatly mortified. He had no objection to harass the Nonconformists, but this resolution called upon him, a Roman Catholic himself, to persecute to the death the

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teachers of his own faith and the adherents of his own Church. Parliament soon discovered its mistake, and hastened to retrace its steps, reversing in the House the decision adopted in committee, and throwing themselves on the promise the King had given at the first meeting of his Privy Council, to protect the religion established by law.

The course of events was powerfully influenced at this point by the insurrection in Scotland under the Earl of Argyle, and that in the west of England for the purpose of placing on the throne the Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles II. The Duke was at that time living away from his wife and family in Brussels, and in unhallowed relations with Henrietta, the daughter of Lord Wentworth of Todding-ton, in Bedfordshire. Passionately attached to each other, and with that easy logic which passion employs, they persuaded themselves that they were man and wife in the sight of heaven. But Lady Wentworth was ambitious, and had complete ascendancy over Monmouth. For him she had sacrificed her honour and all the nobler prospects of woman's life ; and when she joined the restless exiles around him in urging him to make a descent upon England and claim the crown for himself, he had not the firmness to resist these counsels of ruin. That ill-starred expedition was followed by the Bloody Assize in the west and by Monmouth's execution on Tower Hill.

The autumn which followed Monmouth's failure and death will ever be memorable in the annals of England as the time of the reign of terror under Judge Jeffreys and his Bloody Assize in the west.

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The cruelty and lawlessness by which a king, who never seems to have known human pity, put down a foolish rebellion, still ran their course long after rebellion was no more. Spent in one form, they next took the shape of such a crusade against religious liberty as not even that century had known till then. It is agreed on all hands that not even in the worst days of Laud had the condition of those who separated from the Church of England been so sorrowful as towards the end of 1685. John Howe left the country because he could not walk the streets of London without insult. Richard Baxter, though an old man now, was shut up in jail, where he remained for two years more, and where he had innumerable companions in distress. For fresh prisoners were continually being added to the hundreds already deprived of their liberty. With renewed diligence in street and lane, in field and wood, spies and informers plied their odious trade. Magistrates and commissaries, clergy and church-wardens, were once more on the alert. The Ecclesiastical Courts were all day long fining and excommunicating those who refused attendance at church or frequented conventicles elsewhere. The story of meetings broken in upon and worshippers hurried to prison became stale by repetition. The separatists changed the place of gathering from time to time, set their sentinels on the watch, left off singing hymns in their services, and for the sake of greater security worshipped again and again at the dead of night. Ministers were introduced to their pulpits through trap-doors in floor or ceiling, or through

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doorways extemporised in walls, or came by quiet paths in gardens and back-yards. The poor suffered in their persons and the rich in their purse. At Stoke Newington, distresses were levied for conventicles upon such men as Sir John Hartop, Mr. Fleetwood, and others of their neighbours to the extent of £7000.

In some cases the conventiclers, goaded to desperation, stood at bay, and fought like Englishmen. At a prayer-meeting held in a gravel-pit, a company of worshippers rescued their minister, and put to rout the magistrate and constables who had come to arrest him. That autumn-time saw the fiercest but happily the last of the long series of persecutions under the Stuart kings. It has been compared to the last suffered by the early Christians under Diocletian—the last and fiercest on the part of the persecutors, the last and noblest on the part of the sufferers. It is unfortunately but too true that indulgence in cruelty makes men more relentlessly cruel. Happily, on the other hand, the darkest things become the foil of things that are noblest, bring out patient endurance, brave resistance, and firm fidelity to conscience. The harassed Nonconformists of those days still maintained among themselves the faithful and awakening preaching of Christ's evangel; they still kept up that godly family life, that severe morality, which preserved them from the foul corruptions of the time; and still, through all outrage and suffering, the more they were trampled on the more they grew. It was the last systematic religious persecution under the forms of law we have known in England, and

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from the point of view even of the persecutors themselves, like all that went before it, it proved a failure.

Bunyan's state of mind during these days of trial is pretty clearly revealed to us by a document which fortunately has come down to us in his own handwriting. It is sometimes popularly spoken of as his will, but is really a deed of gift, by virtue of which he conveys all his worldly wealth to his "well-beloved wife, Elizabeth Bunyan." The reason of this unusual step is obvious enough. In the then state of public feeling he might any day be "had home to prison" again, his property confiscated, and his family thrown homeless upon the world. To protect them even if he should be deprived of his liberty, he made over everything in legal form to his wife.

The deed, having been long hidden away, is in good state of preservation. It is written on a folio page of strong laid paper, and is as follows :

"To all people to whom this present writing shall com, I, John Bunyan, of the parish of St. Cuthbirts, in the towne of Bedford, in the county of Bedford, Brazier, send greeting. Know ye that I, the said John Bunyan, as well for and in consideration of the natural affection and love which I have and bear into my wel beloved wife, Elizabeth Bunyan, as also for divers other good causes and considerations me at this present especially moueing, have given and granted, and by these presents do give, grant and conferm into the said Elizabeth Bunyan, my said wife, all and singuler my goods, chattels, debts, ready mony, plate, Rings, household stuffe, Aparent, uten-

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sills, Brass, pewter, Beding, and all other my substance whatsoever moueable and immoueable of what kinde, nature, quality, or condition soever the same are or be, and in what place or places soever the same be, shall or may be found as well in mine own custodey possession as in the possesssion hands power and custody of any other person or persons whatsoever, *To have and to hold* all and singuler the said goods, chattels, debts, and all other the aforesaid premises unto the said Elizabeth, my wife, her executors, administrators and assigns to her and there proper uses and behoofs freely and quietly without any matter of challenge, claime, or demand of me, the said John Bunyan, or of any other person or persons whatsoever for me, in my name by my means caus or procurement and without any mony or other thing therefore to be yeeilded paid or done unto me, the said John Bunyan, my executors, administrators or assigns.

“And I, the said John Bunyan, all and singuler the aforesaid goods, chattels, and premises to the said Elizabeth, my wife, her executors, administrators, and asignes, to the use aforesaid against all people do warrant and for ever defend by these presents. And further know ye that I, the said John Bunyan, haue put the said Elizabeth, my wife, in peaceable and quiet possession of all and singuler the aforesaid premises, by the deliurye unto her at the ensealing hereof one coyned peece of silver commonly called two pence, fixed on the seal of these presents.

“In Wittnes whereof I, the said John Bunyan,

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have hereunto set my hand and seall this 23rd day of December, in the first year of the reigne of our souraigne lord King James the Second of England, &c., in the year of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 1685.

“Sealed and delivered in the presence of us whos names are here under written.

“JOHN BUNYAN (L.S.)

“JOHN BARDOLPH.

“NICHOLAS MALIN.

“WILLIAM HAWKES.

“LEWES NORMAN.”

As the deed itself indicates, there was affixed to the seal a silver twopenny-piece of the period, which had disappeared, while much of the wax remains. The document was attested by four members of the Church under Bunyan's care: John Bardolph the maltster, whose malthouse was besieged by Battison the churchwarden, in 1670; Nicholas Malin of Gamlingay; William Hawkes, a deacon of the Church, and son-in-law of John Gifford; and Lewes Norman. After being duly attested, it was hidden away in a recess of the house in St. Cuthbert's, where he had lived since his release in 1672, and where his family had probably lived even earlier still. It was hidden away with such perfect safety that even Elizabeth Bunyan herself seems in after years not to have known where it was. For, as we shall see hereafter, on the death of her husband she administered to his estate at the Archdeacon's Court as that of an intestate person; and the deed itself seems not to

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have come to light till the nineteenth century when it was found in a recess of the house and became the property of George Livius, Esq., by whose widow it was afterwards bequeathed to the Bunyan Meeting Trustees.

From this document it will be seen that, without any pretension and with the utmost simplicity, he still calls himself John Bunyan, *brazier*. This opens up the question as to whether he did or did not still follow at times the brazier's calling side by side with that of his ministry. The writer often quoted by us says that Bunyan "contenting himself with that little God had bestowed upon him, sequestered himself from all secular employments to follow that of his call to the ministry." Yet, as we see thirteen years later, he still describes himself as a brazier. In troublous times there may have been necessity for this calling. His people were for the most part poor; there was not, as in the case of John Gifford and John Burton, the endowment of St. John's church to fall back upon; and it may be that John Bunyan, like a still greater apostle before him, sometimes laboured, working with his hands the thing that was needed. Yet such employment, if followed at all, could only have been occasional. The work of his brain, through tongue and pen, was too incessant to leave much time for the brazier's craft. Besides the nine books he published between 1685 and his death in 1688, he left sixteen unprinted manuscripts behind him, and though two of these were only meant for single-sheet broadsides, one was that of a somewhat lengthy commentary on the first

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ten chapters of Genesis, and another that of a pocket concordance, which must have taken some time to prepare.

The works he sent forth in 1685 were a discussion on "The Perpetuity of the Seventh-day Sabbath," and a discourse on the parable of "The Pharisee and Publican." The seventh-day Sabbath question is one of very feeble interest to anybody living now. But among the innumerable fancies of that period fertile in crotchets, was one for keeping the Jewish Sabbath as the day of worship and rest. A clergyman of some eminence tried to gather his congregation on Saturdays; and three places of worship endowed for the support of this opinion were continued down to our own times, the worshippers being known as Seventh-day Baptists. Bunyan tells us he was reluctant to enter upon a question of such trifling moment, but he was sorry to see the fictions and factions that were growing among Christian men, each fiction turning itself to a faction, to the loss of that good spirit of love and that oneness that formerly was with good men. For his part, he cannot accept the Jewish Sabbath, nor turn from the day on which his Lord rose from the dead. He cannot believe "that any part of our religion, as we are Christians, stands in not kindling of fires, and not seething of victuals, or in binding of men not to stir out of their places on the seventh day, in which at the dawning thereof they were found. And yet these were ordinances belonging to that seventh-day Sabbath."

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“The Pharisee and the Publican” * was sent forth by a publisher who appears now for the first time. The previous book was issued by Nathaniel Ponder, while this bears the imprint, “London: Printed for Jo. Harris, at the Harrow, over against the Church in the Poultry. 1685.” This first edition, if indeed it be as Charles Doe gives it in his list, the first edition, is ornamented with an engraved frontispiece, the upper half being a representation of the Temple, with the Pharisee and Publican praying; and the lower half a portrait of Bunyan, with the words underneath, “Vera Effigies Johannis Bunyan, Æt. suæ 57.” He proceeds to contrast these two men:

“It is strange to see, and yet it is seen, that men cross in their minds, cross in their principles, cross in their apprehensions, yea and cross in their prayers, too, should yet meet in the temple to pray. The Pharisee did carry the bell and did wear the garland for religion, the Publican was counted vile and base and reckoned amongst the worst of men, even as our informers and bum-bailiffs, are with us at this day. The Publican was a Jew, but he fell in with the heathen and took the advantage of their tyranny to pole, to peel, to rob, and impoverish his brethren. The one was an open *outside* sinner, the other a filthy *inside* one. The Pharisee prayed with himself,

* “A Discourse upon the Pharisee and the Publican”; wherein several great and weighty things are handled. By John Bunyan, Author of the “Pilgrim’s Progress.” London: Printed for Jo. Harris, at the Harrow, over against the Church in the Poultry, 1685. “Esponiadd ar ddammeg y Pharisead a’r Publican.” Caerfyrddin, 1775. 12mo.

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said Christ. God and the Pharisee were not together, there was only the Pharisee and himself. How many times have I heard ancient men and ancient women at it with themselves, when all alone in some private room or in some solitary path ; and in their chat they have been sometimes reasoning, sometimes chiding, sometimes pleading, sometimes praying, and sometimes singing ; but yet all has been done by themselves when all alone. So the Pharisee was at it with himself, *he* and *himself* performed at this time the duty of prayer. God, saith he, I thank thee that I am not as other men are. I remember that Luther used to say, ‘ In the name of God begins all mischief.’ All must be fathered upon God—God, I thank thee, is in the persecutor’s lips, is the burden of the heretic’s song, is in every man’s mouth, and must be entailed to every error, delusion, and damnable doctrine that is in the world.

“ And now see how thwart and cross the Pharisee and the Publican did lie in the temple one to another. The Pharisee goes in boldly, the Publican stands behind, a loof off, as one not worthy to approach the divine presence ; the Pharisee hath many fine things whereby he strokes himself over the head, and in effect calls himself, and that in his presence, one of God’s white boys—but alas ! poor Publican, thy guilt stops thy mouth, thou hast not one good thing to say of thyself. What wilt thou do, Publican, what wilt thou do ? Make an O yes ; let all the world be silent ; yea let the angels of God come near and listen ; for the Publican is come to have to do with God ! ‘ He smote upon his breast, saying, God be

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merciful unto me a sinner.' And is this thy way, poor Publican? O cunning sinner! O crafty Publican! thy wisdom has outdone the Pharisee, for it is better to apply ourselves to God's mercy than to trust to ourselves that we are righteous. The Publican did hit the mark—yea get nearer *unto* and more *into* the heart of God and his Son than did the Pharisee."

This work appeared in 1685, and the following year Bunyan issued his "Book for Boys and Girls, or Country Rhymes for Children in verse on seventy-four things. 1686." It was not reprinted during Bunyan's lifetime, but in 1701 was issued by R. Tookey, of Threadneedle Street, in strangely altered form. The preface, which was a sort of spelling-book, was left out, the seventy-four meditations were cut down to forty-nine, two staves of music were omitted, and the remaining meditations were subjected to rather ruthless revision. These changes were not suspected till a copy of the original edition turned up in New York in 1888, was acquired by the British Museum, and has since been published in facsimile by Mr. Elliot Stock. This apparently unique copy seems to have belonged to Narcissus Luttrell, from whom it passed to the Dukes of Buckingham, and on the breaking up of the Stowe collection came into the hands of the trade. Somewhere about 1881 it was purchased by an American gentleman for forty guineas. In 1724 the mutilated edition was reissued under the title it has since retained: "Divine Emblems, or Temporal Things Spiritualised." In 1707 the work was illustrated for the first time, and

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in 1757 was again published by E. Dilly, with a new set of illustrations and a preface "Addressed to the Great Boys in Folio and the Little Ones in Coats," signed J.D. A later edition was published in 1767, by William Johnston of Ludgate Hill, and in 1780, the book was brought out by Alexander Hogg, in his Collected Edition and adorned with copper-plate engravings, the figures represented being all dressed out in the costumes of the days of George III., the men with cocked hats and queues, the women with hooped petticoats and high head-dresses, the clergymen with many-tiered wigs, and the housemaids with mob-caps and aprons. A few years ago an edition on fine paper, and with reproductions of the illustrations of 1757, was issued by Messrs. Bickers and Son, with an introduction by Alexander Smith, the Scottish poet.

Bunyan tells us in his characteristic preface that this book is meant for boys and girls, slyly adding that he means those of all ages, and of all sorts and degrees, for often our bearded men do act like beardless boys, our women please themselves with childish toys. To do good to these juveniles of all ages he will come down to meet them.

He might if he would have taken a higher flight, but to what purpose? The arrow shot out of sight awakes not the sleeper; it may make children gaze, but 'tis that which hits a man doth him amaze. The book, which is in rhyme, rises here and there to poetry, and everywhere is marked by good sense and wise intent, making up altogether a collection of such similes as were ever coming to the writer's mind like

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ripples over a stream. There are reflections upon the clouds edged with silver, and upon that which is a comely sight to see, a world of blossoms on an apple-tree. The boy chasing the butterfly, the mole burrowing in the earth, the bush with comely ruddy rose, but bearing also its sharpened thorn, and the child calling to her breast the bird that will not come, all pass before him, and all flash their gleam of light upon the deeper life within. Nothing is too homely for the writer's purpose, not even the whipping of a top, the falling or sputtering of candles, or the cackling of a hen ; but there are times when he soars on higher wing. The lark and the fowler set forth the sinner and the tempter ; the variety of birds flying in the firmament suggests the variety of individual life in the men who one day shall possess the heavens ; the dawn, with its flickerings between light and dark, becomes symbolic of the doubtful soul on which the Sun of righteousness is beginning to rise ; and the swallow soaring on light wing calls up a fancy which might have dropped from George Herbert's pen :

This pretty bird, O ! how she flies and sings,
But could she do so if she had not wings ?
Her wings bespeak my faith, her songs my peace ;
When I believe and sing my doubtings cease.

A few months after the publication of these "Country Rhymes," there was politically a strangely altered world in England, and Bunyan's local influence with the Nonconformists made him of sufficient importance to be sought after in the service of the Government. His personal friend who wrote

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the continuation of the "Grace Abounding," referring to the changes that were introduced by James II., has the following passage: "During these things there were regulators sent into all cities and towns corporate to new-model the government in the magistracy, &c., by turning out some and putting in others. Against this, Mr. Bunyan expressed his zeal with some weariness, as foreseeing the bad consequences that would attend it, and laboured with his congregation to prevent their being imposed on in this kind; and when a great man in those days, coming to Bedford upon some such errand, sent for him, as it is supposed to give him a place of public trust, he would by no means come at him, but sent his excuse." This great man who tried to work Bunyan round to his purpose, was probably that Thomas Lord Bruce who had recently succeeded his father as Earl of Ailesbury at Houghton House—a man whom the Nonconformists had good cause to remember, and of whom they might well be afraid, even when he came carrying gifts. To understand Bunyan's position at this crisis it is necessary to go back a step or two in the general history of the time.

The King, a Roman Catholic himself, was resolved to give his own religion an equal standing in the country with that of the Established Church. To this the way seemed open; the judges had decided in favour of his dispensing power, and Parliament, so far as he knew, was such as he would have it. He proceeded, therefore, to yet more decisive action. Authority was granted to avowed Romanists among the clergy to remain in their livings; bishoprics as

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they fell vacant were filled up by sycophants on whom he could rely ; and the Court of High Commission, after being long laid aside, was once more set up and invested with absolute control over universities, colleges, cathedrals, and all ecclesiastical corporations whatever, with power of summary excommunication and deprivation of all and sundry who might be disobedient. The result of all this was soon manifest enough. The religious Orders of the Church of Rome began to walk the streets openly, dressed in their peculiar garb ; convents rose and eminent converts were made ; the Franciscans found a home in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Carmelites in the city, the Benedictines at St. James's Palace, and the Jesuits in the Savoy. Bad feeling sprang up between contending parties, and street riots resulted. A mass-house was broken into in Cheapside, the crucifix carried out and fixed on the parish-pump, and when the train-bands were called out to put down the riot, they flatly refused to fight in favour of popery.

The King, who was now rapidly estranging his former friends, sought by a deep stroke of policy to win the Nonconformists to his side. On April 4, 1687, appeared the memorable Declaration of Indulgence, in which, on his own sole authority, he proceeded to annul a long series of statutes, and suspended all penal laws against all classes of Nonconformists. This document went further than the Declaration of 1672, in that it not merely suspended the penal laws, but also dispensed with all religious tests. Constitutionalists and Churchmen grew

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alarmed, and now they on their part tried to win the Nonconformists over to their side. Thus began what has been called the strangest auction recorded in history, when the Protestant Dissenters, who had lately been the religious outcasts of the country, held the balance of power between the King and the Church. Though both sides were compromised up to the hilt, they each tried to throw on the other the blame of those sufferings which the Nonconformists for so long had endured—the Court on the clergy, and the clergy on the Court. It was a changed world, indeed, when the Court began to treat the once-persecuted sectaries with such deference, and the clergy to speak of them as their dear brethren in the Protestant faith, and both sides with many fair speeches and flattering promises tried to draw the waverers to themselves.

The following letter from John Eston to Lord Ailesbury shows that attempts were made to win over Bunyan as well as others to the purposes of the King :

“ My Lord, since your Honour spake with me at Bedford I have conferred with the heads of the Dissenters and particularly with Mr. Margetts and Mr. Bunyon whom your Lordship named to me. The first of these was Judge-Advocate in the Army under the Lord General Monke, when the late King was restored ; the other is Pastor of the Dissenting congregation in this Town. I find them all to be unanimous for electing only such Members of Parliament as will certainly vote for repealing all

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the Tests and Penal Laws touching Religion, and they hope to steere all their friends and followers accordingly; so that if the Lord-Lieutenant will cordially assist with his influence over the Church party there cannot be in human reason any doubt of our electing two such members.

“I nominated to them two such Gentlemen to stand for Burgesses, but (I must confess) they returned upon me with reiterated desires that I would stand for one, and therefore rather than the King shall fail of one to vote for repealing the Tests and Penal Laws I shall be willing to stand. The other they desired to stand with me is Robert Audley, Esq., late Deputy Recorder of our Town, who when in power was very indulgent to all Dissenters. I sent yesterday a letter to him at his howse in Bigglesward, but he was gone into Lincolnshire, and my letter returned. In the next place we had thoughts of Sir Edmond Gardiner, our present Recorder, who we humbly conceive will incline to stand and to vote for repealing, if your Honour be pleased to send for him, and propose it, especially if it be made known that it will be no charge to him and that the Lord Lieutenant's interests shall be conjunct with ours in the Election. Sir Edmond is now in London at Lincoln's Inn.

“My zeal against the Tests and Penal Laws is so fervent that I cannot but strenuously endeavour in my sphere to promote the electing of such Members of Parliament as will certainly damn them, and therefore what further reasonable instruction I shall

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receive from your Lordshippes to serve my Sovereign in this affair, shall be with all diligence and faithfulness observed by, my Lord, Your Honour's most humble and most faithful servant,

“JOHN ESTON.*

“BEDFORD, *November 22, 1687.*”

As to Bunyan's personal feeling in reference to the policy of King James, the evidence is somewhat conflicting. The contemporary writer quoted already from the continuation of the “Grace Abounding” tells us that against this policy, “Mr. Bunyan expressed his zeal with some weariness, foreseeing the bad consequences that would attend it, and laboured with his congregation to prevent their being imposed on in this kind.” On the other hand, John Eston, in the letter just given, states that he had as requested seen the heads of the Dissenters in Bedford, and “particularly Mr. Margetts and Mr. Bunyon, and that he found them all unanimous for electing only such Members of Parliament as would vote for the repeal of all Tests and Penal Laws touching religion.” Possibly the truth lies midway. It would appear that matters had proceeded so far that some place under Government was to be offered to Bunyan to secure his influence. He was not, however, to be worked upon. Yet while refusing all such overtures and declining even to see the man who brought them, who was probably none

* “Rawlinson MSS. A. 139A.” The writer of this letter was the son of that John Eston who was one of the founders of the Bedford Church, and who died in 1662.

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other than Lord Ailesbury himself, we may infer that neither Bunyan nor the leading attendants upon his ministry were averse to accept of the liberty brought by this Declaration of Indulgence, any more than they were to accept of that conferred by the similar Declaration of 1672. The dispensing power might be unconstitutional, and the attempt to repeal the penal laws and tests might have a sinister purpose, still these laws themselves were inhuman and unjust, and ought to be repealed. Beneath the lash of such legislation Bunyan and his people had smarted for now nearly a quarter of a century. It was not wonderful that they should support the policy of repeal and welcome the time of relief without inquiring too curiously into the motives of the men who were trying to bring them about.

Certain it is that for a brief space some of the Non-conformists whom Bunyan had taught and trained came at this time into the Council of the borough, and equally certain that their coming was followed by such a reform of abuses as had not been known for a long time and of which there was urgent need. For example, several previous mayors had for years kept in their own possession moneys belonging to the charitable foundations of the town, and these at once received notice to pay in all such moneys that they might be disposed of according to the will of the donor. The Hagable rent-rolls of the corporation required rectification after alienation and unauthorised alterations, and these were put under investigation with a view to restoration at the next Court Baron of the town. For some two or three

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years past an annual charity of £30, left by a Mrs. Collins for ten poor widows, had been weighted with the assertion "that resorting to church was a qualification required by the will of the person leaving the bequest." The new Mayor and Corporation on the 6th of September entered on their minutes, "the declaration that they had that day seen and read the copie of the said Will and Deed of Settlement, and that the said £30 is given for the maintenance of ten poor widows of the Towne of Bedford yearly for ever without any restriction or lymitation to widdows that resort to Church, and without any other qualification than poverty." So things went on. It was an altered world indeed since the good old times of quiet management with closed doors, and of forty shilling penalties upon any council-man who should "disclose his fellow's counsell," or upon any door-keeper of the Chamber who should whisper what he had heard, or suffer curious loiterers to listen. Great must have been the consternation of venerable owls at the letting in of all this daylight and shrill the screeching that followed.

After reconstructing the magistracy of the counties in the way we have seen, and regulating the corporations of the boroughs, the King, on the 27th of April, 1688, put forth a second Declaration of Indulgence in which, after reciting at length that of the previous April, he told his people that his purpose was immutably fixed, and exhorted them to choose such representatives as would assist him in the great work of giving liberty of conscience to the nation. On the 4th of May, an order was issued

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commanding the clergy to read this Declaration in their parish churches on two successive Sundays during divine service, refusal to be followed within a week by ejection. Great were the searchings of heart which followed in many a rectory and vicarage through the country as the royal command reached parish after parish. Of course it was variously received by those to whom it was sent. Sometimes by misgiving, compliance or stout resistance, and sometimes by clever evasion. In the diocese of Norwich, except in some three or four parishes out of about 1200, the preacher for the day so contrived to read the document that not one of his parishioners could possibly know what it was about. There is a good story told of one incumbent who informed the people that though he was enjoined to read they were not compelled to listen, and who suggested that they should retire while he read the Declaration to empty benches and mere church walls.* Bishop Barlow who, four years ago, laid it down to the Dissenters of Bedfordshire as an irrefragable principle that subjects are bound to obey their rulers in matters of religion, is now not so clear on that point. One of the clergy of his diocese, in dire perplexity as to what he should do, wrote to the Bishop for counsel, the messenger to wait at Buckden Palace for the reply. He received the following answer which, like the responses from the oracles of antiquity, is not so clear or decisive as it might be :

“ Sir,—I received yours, and all that I have time to say (the messenger which brought it making so

* “ Stoughton’s Church of the Restoration,” ii. 148.

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little stay here) is only this. By His Majesty's command I was required to send that Declaration to all Churches in my diocese, in obedience whereto I sent them. Now, the same authority which requires me to send them, requires you to read them. But whether you should or should not read them, is a question of that difficulty, in the circumstances we now are, that you can't expect that I should so hastily answer it, especially in writing. The last two Sundays, the Clergy in London were to read it, but, as I am informed, they generally refused. For myself I shall neither persuade nor dissuade you, but leave it to your prudence and conscience, whether you will or will not read it; only this I shall advise, that, if after serious consideration, you find that you cannot read it, but *reluctante vel dubitante conscientiâ*, in that case, to read it will be your sin, and you to blame for doing it. I shall only add that God Almighty would be so graciously pleased to bless and direct you, so that you may do nothing in this case, which may be justly displeasing to God, or the King, is the prayer of your loving friend and brother: Thos. Lincoln.*

“Buckden, May 29, 1688.”

After reading this temporizing deliverance from the Bishop, it is pleasant to listen to a more manly utterance from one of the clergy, an acquaintance by the way of Bunyan's, whom we met with some years earlier in Bedfordshire, Edward Fowler, formerly rector of Northill, but now vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate. At the consultation of the London

* “Stoughton's Church of the Restoration,” ii. 150.

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clergy, the feeling at first seemed to be in favour of obeying the Order in Council. As the dispute waxed warm, Fowler rose, and with the clear ring of resolution in his words, he said : " I must be plain. The question is so simple that argument can throw no new light on it, and can only beget heat. Let every man say yes or no. But I cannot consent to be bound by the vote of the majority. I shall be sorry to cause a breach of unity. But this Declaration I cannot in conscience read." This man, who knew his own mind, helped other men to know theirs, and in the end eighty-five of the city incumbents signed a document pledging themselves not to read the Declaration.

The events which followed—the Trial of the Seven Bishops, and the delirious joy of the nation over their acquittal; the moody vexation of the King at his defeat, and his own steady descent down the steep of Avernus—all this belongs to the general history of the time rather than to the simpler purpose before us. There is, however, in the background of the story one ominous figure flitting to and fro between London and the Hague, during the early months of that eventful summer, whom it may be well for us not to overlook. This was Edward Russell, nephew of the Earl of Bedford, and therefore cousin to that William Lord Russell whose untimely fate so many good men deplored. He was a man of courage and capacity, though of turbulent temper, and had seen widely different phases of life. A sailor once and a courtier afterwards, he had been in the royal service both on the high seas and in the palace of

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Charles. The execution of his cousin had, however, gone to his heart and alienated him for ever from the House of Stuart, and he was now, along with others, carrying on those negotiations with the Prince of Orange which were to end in the great Revolution and a changed England for the generations to come. The same 30th June on which the bells of a hundred steeples were ringing out the joy of the people over the acquittal of the Bishops, Edward Russell's plans had so far succeeded that there was despatched from London to the Hague an instrument, which has been described as scarcely less important to the liberties of England than the Great Charter itself.

XVI

BUNYAN'S LAST DAYS

DURING the memorable years over which we have been passing Bunyan lived on in the parish of St. Cuthbert. This parish, situate on the east side of the town, was very small in extent, having in it only ten families in the reign of Elizabeth, and according to the Hearth Tax roll of 1673-4, forty-seven families in the time of Bunyan. Even in 1665, the Plague year, when the mortality in some of the Bedford parishes was considerable, the deaths in St. Cuthbert's from all causes were only two. Bunyan's house stood in what was then the common street of the parish, now called St. Cuthbert's Street. It was a plain homely structure which was unfortunately taken down in 1838 to make way for the two commonplace cottages standing opposite to the house known as The Cedars. The room to the right of the doorway was a narrow apartment, known as John Bunyan's parlour, the fireplace of which had for the upper bar of the grate a steelyard stamped with the letters J. B. On the other side of the entrance was the living room of the family, which

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was much larger; there was also a small apartment spoken of as the study, and in the garden behind there was an outbuilding which seemed as if it had been used as a workshop.

The only known contemporary reference to Bunyan's residence here is found in the diary of Thomas Hearne, the well-known antiquary, where he says: "I heard Mr. Bagford, some time before he died, say that he walked once into the country, on purpose to see the study of John Bunyan. When he came John received him very civilly and courteously; but his study consisted only of a Bible and a parcel of books, the 'Pilgrim's Progress' chiefly, written by himself, all lying on a shelf or shelves." In a lately published collection of letters addressed to Mr. Hearne, there is one dated 1716, from James Sotheby, from which we gather that Mr. Bagford was then no longer living; and as he attained the age of sixty-five or sixty-six he may well have seen the Dreamer and talked with him in his own house, as he stated to his friend.

It has been already mentioned that Bunyan published nothing after his "Country Rhymes," in 1686, till 1688, when he made up by increased activity for this unusual interval. Between March 25, when the year began, and the month of August, when he died, he sent out no fewer than five books, while another followed within a month of his death. These six books, thus published almost simultaneously after the second Declaration of Indulgence, were "The Jerusalem Sinner Saved," "The Work of Jesus Christ as an Advocate," "The House of God,"

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"The Water of Life," "Solomon's Temple Spiritualised," and "The Acceptable Sacrifice." The first of these was on a favourite theme of his, and was the outcome of a favourite sermon. He says, "I have found through God's grace, good success in preaching upon this subject, and perhaps so I may by my writing upon it too." If the circulation of a book may be any test of its usefulness, this hope of his was not altogether frustrated, for before 1728 "The Jerusalem Sinner Saved" had been translated into several languages, and gone through ten editions. No copy is known to exist of the first two; the earliest we have is one of the third edition, published in 1691, by Elizabeth Smith, at the Hand and Bible, on London Bridge, possibly some kinswoman of Bunyan's former publisher, Francis Smith. This treatise is based upon the command of our Lord to preach his gospel unto all the nations, *beginning at Jerusalem*. The apostle Peter (Acts iii. 25, 26) seems to imply that because the men of Israel were the children of the prophets and of the Covenant, therefore unto them first God having raised up His Son Jesus sent the blessing. Bunyan, however, takes the command to begin with the gospel at Jerusalem as a command to take it to the worst sinners first—because, "in a word, Jerusalem was now become the shambles, the very slaughter-shop for saints, the place where the prophets, Christ, and His people were persecuted and put to death. For Christ will show mercy where sins are in number the most, in cry the loudest, in weight the heaviest. It is thus that He gets to Himself a glorious name."

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Bunyan says he could on this matter speak from personal experience. He himself had been a great sin-breeder, infecting the youth of the town where he was born.

“Wherefore Christ Jesus took me first; and taking me first, the contagion was much allayed all the town over. When God made me sigh they would hearken and inquiringly say, ‘What’s the matter with John?’ When I went out to seek the bread of life, some of them would follow and the rest be put into a muse at home. Yea, almost the whole town, at first, at times would go out to hear at the place where I found good; yea, young and old for a while had some reformation on them; also some of them perceiving that God had mercy upon me, came crying to him for mercy too.”

As this on the Jerusalem Sinner was addressed to those outside the kingdom of God, Bunyan’s next book, “The Work of Jesus Christ as an Advocate,” was addressed to those within. It was published for him by that Dorman Newman at the King’s Arms in the Poultry, who six years before had published the “Holy War.” Happening to hear a sermon from an unenlightened scribe, who told the people to see that their cause be good, else Christ will not undertake it, “Lord,” thought I, “if this be true, what shall I do, and what will become of all this people, yea and of this preacher too?” At once he set about showing how Christ pleads for those who through their sin have no plea of their own.

The third production of Bunyan’s pen, in 1688, was a poetical “Discourse of the Building, Nature,

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Excellency, and Government of the House of God." It was first published in a pocket volume of sixty-three pages by George Larkin, and then seems to have dropped altogether out of sight till quite recent years, when a copy was brought to light through the intervention of Mr. Creasy, bookseller, Sleaford. It was then for the first time reprinted, and added to Mr. Offor's edition of Bunyan's Collected Works. Looking at the subject itself, one would have thought that the nature, constitution, and government of a Christian Church was not a very promising theme for poetry; yet we find that he who pictured the Palace Beautiful had not lost the cunning of his right hand when, in this form also, he sets forth the beauty of the Church, its strength and defence, and the delicateness of its situation. It is a fair vision that rises before him. Beneath the very threshold of this house arise goodly springs of lasting grace. Sweet is the air all round, and here are perfumes most pleasant to the sense. The gardens yield richest spice and goodly trees of frankincense, while near are arbours, walks, and fountains; standing around are mountains, from which you may see the Holy Land, and in the valleys between are fertile fields adorned with corn and lilies fair.

Almost as if he had an instinctive feeling that for him the time of sundown was near, Bunyan sent forth another book in these closing months of his pilgrimage, on "The Water of Life," which was published by Nathaniel Ponder. In a preliminary Epistle to the Reader he says we may, if we will,

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call this book Bunyan's Bill of his Master's Water of Life. He could give accounts of "numberless numbers that have not only been made to live, but to live for ever by drinking of this water; many of them, indeed, are removed from hence and live where they cannot be spoken with as yet, but abundance of them do still remain here and have their abode yet with men."

The next book of the series issued by Bunyan in 1688 was the one entitled "Solomon's Temple Spiritualised;" which was published by George Larkin, at the Two Swans. It professes to be an endeavour to show the gospel glory of Solomon's temple. God had tied up the Church of the Jews to types and figures to be butted and bounded by them in all external parts of worship. Bunyan selects one out of many, the Temple, and in seventy particulars shows the spiritual significance of its symbolism, entering his caveat, by the way, against the manufacture of symbols in later time, sensibly saying that what God provided to be a help to the weakness of his people of old was one thing, and what was invented without his commandment was another.

We have seen already how the political events that were agitating the nation at large keenly affected the municipal life of Bedford, and touched somewhat closely Bunyan himself. Beyond this, and what we learn from the books he sent forth in 1688, we know but little of him during these closing months of his life. There are only some eight lines in the church records referring to this period, and these are

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merely routine business and by another hand. We catch just one gleam of local Bedford life, and of an event that may have startled him as well as his neighbours, as we read from an old pamphlet of April 17 of that year, "Strange and Dreadful Newes from the Towne of Bedford," of two disastrous fires which happened there four days before ; one of them in the night, when the bells rang backward to give the alarm ; and the other the next morning, at a malthouse close to Bunyan's house on the east side of the town, when " persons were much singed and burnt by the sheets of flame driven in their faces through the fury of the wind." Passing from the month of April, when Bedford was thus lit up with flame by night and day, we come to the beginning of August, when Bunyan took that last journey to London from which for him there was to be no return, taking with him yet one MS. more, the last of his he was personally to place in the printer's hands. This journey was but one of many made through a long series of years to the city where his life was to end. Even in the closing days of the Commonwealth he seems to have had there a considerable circle of friends who looked for his visits with interest. It will be remembered that he tells us how between the two assizes of August 1661 and January 1662, he had somewhat more liberty, and " did go to see Christians at London," which his enemies hearing of, were angry with his gaoler. When his long imprisonment was ended, his visits thither became more frequent, and his fame a steadily growing power during the remaining sixteen

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years of his life. The writer of the Continuation of his Life says that—

“ When he was at leisure from writing and teaching he often came up to London, and there went among the congregations of the Nonconformists, and used his talent to the great good-liking of his hearers ; and even some to whom he had been misrepresented, upon the account of his education, were convinced of his worth and knowledge in sacred things, as perceiving him to be a man of sound judgment, delivering himself plainly and powerfully ; insomuch that many who came as mere spectators for novelty’s sake, rather than to be edified and improved, went away well satisfied with what they heard, and wondered, as the Jews did at the Apostles, viz., whence this man should have these things.”

Among Bunyan’s earliest London acquaintances, of course, was his Bedfordshire neighbour of other days, George Cokayn, the ejected minister of Soper Lane, and now the pastor of the congregation in Red Cross Street. He was also, as we know, on intimate terms of friendship with Dr. John Owen, who took every opportunity of hearing him preach, telling King Charles that he would willingly exchange his learning for the tinker’s power of touching men’s hearts. To the pulpits and congregations of these well-known London preachers, as well as to those of others, he had frequent access during his visits to the city. His sermon on “ The Greatness of the Soul,” published in 1683, is described on the title-page as “ First preached in Pinners’ Hall.” That is in one of those halls of the city companies which were so largely

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used by the early Nonconformist congregations before they had buildings of their own. Of the Dissenters' Meeting Houses, indeed, Pinners' Hall, Girdlers' Hall, and Salters' Hall ranked among the foremost. The first of these—the one in which Bunyan preached—was situated in Pinners' Hall Court, Old Broad Street, and was a spacious building, having on three sides of the Hall two tiers of galleries. It was here that, as early as 1672, there was established the Merchants' Lecture which, with some migration of place, has come down to our own times, the first six preachers of the Lecture being Bates, Manton, Owen, Baxter, Collins, and Jenkyn, all of them names illustrious in the annals of Nonconformity. The pastor of the regular congregation was Richard Wavel, the son of a Royalist major in the Isle of Wight, and a preacher who, like Bunyan himself, was only too familiar with the inside of gaols and the other rough experiences of those stormy times. It is told of him, that when there came some fresh outburst of persecution, he exhorted his people to constancy, assuring them that, if they would venture their purses, he would venture his person; and when urged to counsels of prudence for his children's sake, he quietly replied, "My children will never want; their Heavenly Father will provide what is necessary: and what is more than necessary is hurtful."

The people formed under a strenuous ministry like this were those who first heard Bunyan's sermon on the greatness of the soul, in Pinners' Hall. It may be, indeed, that it was preached as one of the series of the Merchants' Lecture itself, and in that case the ordinary

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congregation would be reinforced by many Nonconformist citizens from far and near. For the lecture was already a great institution and a rallying-point of the most intelligent of the London Dissenters, helping to create that larger knowledge of the great questions of the religious life which even Bishop Burnet, with commendable candour, tells us was a special characteristic of the Dissenters of his day.

We may well suppose that Bunyan's heart-stirring power as a preacher, and his growing fame as a writer ever since his "Pilgrim" surprised and enchanted the world, led to his being lionised not a little in the leading circles of Nonconformist influence in the city. As with the Ayrshire ploughman of a century later, there were men of high social standing and fair women of gentle birth who regarded with interest and welcomed with hospitality the wonderful Bedfordshire tinker, whose visions opened a new world to them, and whose preaching came like a fresh breeze from the mountains. In the congregation of his friend John Owen, in White's Alley, Moorfields, to which Bunyan sometimes preached, there were to be found such people as Lord Charles Fleetwood, Sir John Hartop and his lady, Oliver Cromwell's brother-in-law, Colonel Desborough, and the great Protector's granddaughter, Mrs. Bendish, so like him in face and character. There were also Sir Thomas Overbury, Lady Abney, Lady Vere Wilkinson, and the Countess of Anglesey, besides eminent city merchants and people of consideration living in some of the many "fair houses" of which Stow tells us as then standing in their own gardens,

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even in the city itself. Through a misleading reference in "Ellis's Correspondence" the fact also has been preserved that Bunyan stood in some sort of close friendly relation with the Lord Mayor of the time, Sir John Shorter. The passage runs thus: "Few days before died Bunian, his lordship's teacher or chaplain; a man said to be gifted in that way though once a cobbler." Of course the Bedfordshire pastor never was chaplain to the Lord Mayor; but Sir John may well have attended some one of the Nonconformist places of worship in which Bunyan preached, and a friendship honourable to both have sprung up between them. Some of the few personal relics of the great dreamer which have come down to us through his family were probably the gift of some of these city friends, possibly even of Sir John Shorter himself—the little cabinet, with curious inlaid work on door and drawers; and the staff of the old pilgrim, a Manilla cane with handsome ivory handle inlaid with silver circlets wrought by the cunning hand of an Indian workman, each alternate circlet having a setting of malachite for its centre. Be that as it may, some of these London hearers seemed disposed to show kindness to Bunyan's children for Bunyan's sake, one of them offering to take his son Joseph to his business, without premium or fee, a kindly offer which, however, was frustrated by Bunyan's own scrupulous feeling, which led him to say that God sent him not to advance his family but to preach the Gospel; an instance of other-worldliness perhaps more consistent with the honour of the father than with the prosperity of the son.

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But if Bunyan may have occasionally mingled with some of the great people of the City and had personal friends among them, we may be sure that his heart was even more entirely with the great body of godly people who gathered about him in the various assemblies of the time. As to his reception among these, we have distinct testimony from his friend and admirer, Charles Doe, the comb-maker, whose shop was close to London Bridge on the Southwark side. Doe was a good, earnest, simple soul, who came to know Bunyan during the last three years of his life through hearing him preach, who followed him as Boswell followed Johnson, and did much after his death to preserve his books for the generations to come. Speaking of the storm which burst forth afresh against the Nonconformists in 1685-6, Doe says :

"It was at this time of persecution I heard that Mr. Bunyan came to London sometimes and preached; and because of his fame, and I having read some of his books, I had a mind to hear him. And accordingly I did at Mr. More's meeting in a private house; and his text was, 'The fears of the wicked shall come upon him, but the desires of the righteous shall be granted.'*" But I was offended at the text, because not a New Testament one, for then I was very jealous of being cheated by men's sophisticating of Scripture to serve their turn or opinion, I being

* This sermon, expanded for publication, was found among Bunyan's MSS. at his death, and included in the folio edition of his works of 1692. It is entitled "The Desires of the Righteous Granted."

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then come into New Testament light in the love of God and the promises, having had enough for the present of the historical and doing for favour in the Old Testament. But Mr. Bunyan went on, and preached so New Testament-like that he made me admire, and weep for joy, and give him my affections. And he was the first man that ever I heard preach to my unenlightened understanding and experience, for methought all his sermons were adapted to my condition, and had apt similitudes, being full of the love of God and the manner of its secret working upon the soul, and of the soul under the sense of it, that I could weep for joy most part of his sermons; and so, by a letter, I introduced myself into his acquaintance, and, indeed, I have not since met with a man I have liked so well. I was acquainted with him but about three years before he died, and then missed him sorely.”*

The days to which Doe thus refers when the meetings were held in a private house were days of stealth, but they were followed by the freer days brought in by King James's Indulgence, with their larger liberty of prophesying and crowds of hearers. It is to these latter days of 1687-8 that Doe makes reference when he says :

“When Mr. Bunyan preached in London, if there were but one day's notice given, there would be more people come together to hear him preach than the meeting-house could hold. I have seen to hear him preach, by my computation, about twelve hundred at a morning lecture by seven o'clock on a working day,

* “Experiences of Charles Doe.” London, 1700.

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in the dark winter-time. I also computed about three thousand that came to hear him one Lord's Day at London, at a town's-end meeting-house, so that half were fain to go back again for want of room, and then himself was fain at a back-door to be pulled almost over people to get upstairs to his pulpit."*

It has been said that this town's-end meeting-house was the one in Zoar Street, Southwark Park, on or near the site of the Globe Theatre of Shakespearian fame. Bunyan may have preached at this place at an occasional service or two, but he could not as frequently have gathered the people here as is sometimes supposed, for the simple reason that this meeting house was only opened for worship some six months before his death, and that for Presbyterian use.†

With all this marvellous influence in the city, which was the centre of his nation's life, it seems remarkable that Bunyan was never prevailed upon to leave the country-town where he had laboured so long for the larger field of service which seemed open to him there. That overtures were made to him to this end, is tolerably certain from the hint that Doe throws out that "he was not a man that preached by way of bargain for money, for he hath refused a more plentiful income to keep his station." To all such overtures there was but one reply, that of the Shunamite, "I dwell among mine own people." He was too deeply rooted in the scene of his lifelong labours and sufferings lightly to think of striking his

* "The Struggler." By Charles Doe. 1692.

† Wilson's "Dissenting Churches of London," iv. 188.

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tent, till the command came from the Master to come up to the higher service for which he had been ripening so long.

Thus he was no stranger to the city to which he was setting out once more in the month of August 1688. His route on this occasion was more than usually circuitous. Setting forth on horseback, he first made a journey westward to the town of Reading, where also he seems to have been widely known. There is no mention of his previous connection with the town in his own writings or by his contemporaries, but there are traditions among the townspeople that in the garb of a carter, whip in hand, he came thither, in the days of persecution, to preach. It is said that the place of meeting was in a side lane and that from the back door the people had access to a bridge over a branch of the river Kennett, by the kindly aid of which, on the giving of alarm, they were able to escape. On this last occasion on which he journeyed thither there was no peril and therefore no need for disguise. His errand this time was twofold, to preach the gospel, of course, but also, and mainly, to be a peacemaker, if he might: "For it so falling out, that a young gentleman, a neighbour of Mr. Bunyan, happening into the displeasure of his father and being much troubled in mind upon that account, as also for that he had heard his father proposed to disinherit him, or otherwise deprive him of what he had to leave, he pitched upon Mr. Bunyan as a fit man to make way for his submission and prepare his father's mind to receive him; and he, as willing to

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do any good office as it could be requested, as readily undertook it." His errand was successfully accomplished: "He used such pressing arguments and reasons against anger and passion, as also for love and reconciliation, that the father was mollified, and his bowels yearned towards his returning son."

Having thus made three hearts glad, his own as well as those of the estranged father and son, Bunyan set forth towards London, carrying with him his MS. on "The Excellency of a Broken Heart." This journey of some forty miles turned out to be a dreary ride through driving rain, at the end of which he found himself drenched and weary at the house of one who is described by Charles Doe as his very loving friend, John Strudwick. Strudwick was a much younger man than Bunyan, being at this time about thirty-four. He lived in a simple four-storeyed building with gable and overhanging chambers on Snow Hill, there carrying on the business of a grocer under the sign of the Star. In an old church roll of Hare Court, whither the congregation of Red Cross Street under George Cokayn had migrated, we find that in 1692 the deacons were Brother John Strudwick and Brother Robert Andrews.* It was, no doubt, through this connection of his with the church over which their mutual friend presided that Bunyan and he came to know each other. It would be about the middle of August that he gave welcome to his honoured guest, for on the 19th of that month Bunyan was preaching at Mr. Gamman's meeting, near Whitechapel, what proved to be his last sermon.

* "The Story of Hare Court," By J. B. Marsh.

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It was on the text John i. 13, and was shortly afterwards printed, not from any MS. of the preacher's, but from the notes of some hearer who was present. According to this report there was one passage in this sermon which was indeed the fitting close to the ministry of a man so catholic and large-hearted as we know this preacher was. "Dost thou," said he, "see a soul that has the image of God in him? Love him, love him: say, This man and I must go to heaven one day; serve one another, do good for one another; and if any wrong you, pray to God to right you, and love the brotherhood." If we may trust this report, and there is no reason why we should not, the last words that John Bunyan ever uttered from the pulpit were words that nobly expressed the spirit of his own life. They were these: "Be ye holy in all manner of conversation. Consider that the holy God is your Father, and let this oblige you to live like the children of God, that you may look your Father in the face with comfort another day."

This was twelve days before his death. In the interval between his arrival at John Strudwick's house and the appearance of dangerous symptoms in his disease, he was sending through the press the early sheets of his latest book, "The Acceptable Sacrifice," showing the excellency of a broken heart, and the nature, signs, and proper effects of a contrite spirit. In this discourse upon a verse in David's great penitential Psalm (li. 17), he speaks not from hearsay, but from deepest experience when he says:

"The broken heart is hard to bear, for soul-pain

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is the sorest pain. With such a man God has wrestled and given him a fall, and now he crouches and cringes and craves for mercy. Like one with a broken limb who so far from hectoring it with a man is afraid lest even a child should touch him, so he begs of God to deal with him with tender hands. Once being at an honest woman's house, I after some pause, asked her how she did; very badly, was her reply—I am afraid I shall not be saved. Breaking out with heavy heart she said, 'Ah Goodman Bunyan! Christ and a pitcher; if I had Christ though I went and begged my bread with a pitcher, it would be better with me than I think it is now.' This woman had her heart broken, she wanted Christ. This cry of Christ and a pitcher made a melodious noise in the ears of the very angels. At first our pride is laid low. If a man be proud of his strength or manhood, a broken leg will maul him; and if a man be proud of his goodness a broken heart will maul him. Yet a broken heart or a contrite spirit is a heaven-sent blessing."

As this book shows, there was a firm grip about this man's words to the last. Before the whole of the sheets were through the press, however, he himself was through the gates of the celestial city. Overtaken by heavy rains and drenched to the skin during his recent ride from Reading, he that day received his death-blow. He was no longer in the vigour of life; at any time he was far from strong. In earlier years he was thought to have narrowly escaped consumption, and later his constitution must have suffered from the unnatural conditions of prison

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life. His friend tells us that though he was only sixty, he was worn out with sufferings, age, and often teaching. On the Tuesday after the Sunday he preached in Whitechapel, he was seized with what has been variously described as a violent fever and as the sweating distemper, which ran its course for the next ten days. All that skill and love could do to arrest the mischief at work was doubtless done, but done in vain. This is all we know. Whether Elizabeth Bunyan or any of his children received the news of his illness in time to reach him and receive his beckoning of farewell before departure, we know not. Possibly not. For at first there would be no special alarm; and then, as fears grew graver, it would take two days to send tidings and two days more to reach him. One who was there, probably Strudwick's pastor and Bunyan's friend, George Cokayn, tells us that he bore his sufferings "with much constancy and patience; and expressed himself as if he desired nothing more than to be dissolved and to be with Christ, in that case esteeming death as gain, and life only a tedious delaying of felicity expected; and finding his vital strength decay, having settled his mind and affairs, as well as the shortness of his time and the violence of his disease would admit, with a constant and Christian patience, he resigned his soul into the hands of his most merciful Redeemer, following his pilgrim from the City of Destruction to the New Jerusalem; his better part having been all along there, in holy contemplations, pantings, and breathings after the hidden manna and water of life."

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It was on Friday, August 31, 1688, that Bunyan passed away, and the sorrowful tidings would reach his bereaved church at Bedford about the time they were gathering for their Sunday services. The following entry in the Church Book throws some light on their feeling at this time of parting :

“Wednesday 4th of September was kept in prayre and humilyation for this Heavy Stroak upon us, y^e Death of deare Brother Bunyan. Apoynted also that Wednesday next be kept in praire and humiliation on the same Account.”

At this second meeting on the 11th it was determined to spend that day week also in the same sorrowful way :

“Apoynted that all y^e Brethren meet together on the 18th of this month Sept^r, to Humble themselves for this Heavy hand of God upon us. And also to pray unto y^e Lord for Counsell and Direction what to do in order to seek out for A fitt person to make choyce of for an Elder.” “Tuesdey y^e 18th was the whole congregation mett to Humble themselves before God by ffasting and prayre for his Hevy and Sevear Stroak upon us in takeing away our Honoured Brother Bunyan by death.”

The orchard round the place of meeting where Bunyan preached in Bedford had, since 1681, been used as a place for the burial of their dead. Curiously enough there are the following three entries and no more relating to this place, where we should least expect to find them, in the parish register of St. Paul's Church :

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"1681. Buried Elizabeth, dau. of John Herring, at the Meeting Barne, Nov. 11th.

"1681. Buried John Sewster, at the Meeting Barne, Nov. 13.

"Buried Samuel Fenn y^e elder, att y^e Meeting Barne, Nov. y^e 14th."

This last entry relates to Bunyan's predecessor and former colleague in the ministry at Bedford; and, in the ordinary course, Bunyan would probably have been laid beside him; but, dying as he did in London, the removal of his body to the scene of his ministry would, in those days, have entailed a journey too long and too costly to be thought of. Therefore, after, no doubt, many a brotherly reference to his departure, in the Sunday gatherings of the congregations to whom his face was known so well, all that was mortal of him was, on the Monday, reverently laid in John Strudwick's vault at Bunhill Fields.

Following Southey, many writers have called this place of burial the *Campo Santo* of the Dissenters. This it was; but it was by no means confined to them. Many Roman Catholics were buried here, so were members of the National Church. The site was originally part of a famous fen or moor, described, in early times, as watering the walls of London on the north, Moorfields and Fensbury or Finsbury Fields, preserving the remembrance in the name. In the sixteenth century there appertained to the manor of Finsbury Farm, three great fields known as Bonhill, the Mallow, and the High Field, "where the three windmills stand." The Bonhill field was

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consecrated as early as 1549, for the purpose of receiving the vast quantities of human remains which were removed that year from the charnel house of St. Paul's. In 1665 it was used as a place of burial for those who died of the Great Plague, and was then, in an inscription placed over the western gate, described as a churchyard. After that it was enclosed by a brick wall at the sole charge of the City, and that it was regarded as a consecrated place of sepulture is shown by the fact that two years before Bunyan's death a funeral was celebrated there in which Tillotson, then dean, and Stillingfleet, one of the canons of St. Paul's, took part; and that subsequently a clergyman of the Church was appointed as chaplain. Still, as being a burial-ground separate from any ecclesiastical building, it was the one most frequently made use of by the Nonconformists. Of these Dr. Thomas Goodwin, who was with Cromwell on his death-bed, and who died in 1679, was the first person of eminence among those buried there; he was followed in 1683 by John Owen, and five years later by John Bunyan. Among other names recorded here and memorable in the annals of Nonconformity are those of Watts and Williams and the mother of the Wesleys, Neal and Morrice and Bradbury, Doolittle and Vincent and Gale, with a long succession of others who did their work and made their mark some two centuries ago. There are also other names celebrated in other ways—those of Ritson the antiquary, and Blake the painter, of Hardy and Horne Tooke, of Nathaniel Lardner and Abraham Rees. Nor must

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we pass by that of Thomas Stothard, the painter. He is, perhaps, most widely known by his picture of the *Canterbury Pilgrims*, but there are not a few who think that some of his best work is to be found in his illustrations to the two most popular of English books, the "Pilgrim's Progress" and "Robinson Crusoe." It is fitting, therefore, that here he should lie, as he does, side by side with the writers of the books themselves, his dust mingling with that of John Bunyan and Daniel Defoe.

There is no entry in the register of Bunyan's burial, and when Curll published his Bunhill Fields Inscription in 1717, or Strype his edition of Stowe in 1720, there was no record of his name on the grave. In 1737 John Strudwick's son-in-law, the Rev. Robert Bragge, was buried in the same vault, and it was then, probably, that for the first time the names of the dead within were inscribed upon the tablet without. A contributor to *Notes and Queries* for 1864, who signed himself H. J. S., writes: "I have just discovered, in the handwriting of Dr. Richard Rawlinson, LL.D., a copy of the inscription which formerly existed on the tomb in which was interred the author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress':

"Here lyes the body of Mr. John Bunyan, Author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' aged 59, who dyed Aug. 17, 1688.

"Here lies the body of Mr. John Strudwick, aged 43 years, who dyed the 15th day of Jan., 1697.

"Also the body of Mrs. Phœbe Bragge, who died the 15th July, 1718.

"Here also lies the body of the Rev. Rob.

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Bragge, Minister of the Gospel, who departed this life Feb. 12, 1737, *Ætatis* 72."

It will be seen that the date of Bunyan's death, thus given, is August 17, while the writer of the continuation of the "Grace Abounding" gives it as August 12. As Bunyan preached his last sermon on August 19, and was seriously ill for ten days before his death, these dates are evidently from memory and manifestly wrong. The date given by Charles Doe is August 31, and as the sorrowful meeting of the Bedford Church was held on September 4, and would naturally follow immediately upon the receipt of the tidings of his death, this date is undoubtedly correct.

The vault in which Bunyan was laid would appear to have been a new sepulchre at the time it was opened for him, and was then probably first purchased by John Strudwick for his honoured guest. For though eventually eleven persons altogether were buried there, the dates of the burial of the rest were all subsequent to 1688.* No writer of the time, not even Charles Doe, who would almost certainly be present, has given us any account of the funeral of the great Englishman who was thus laid to rest in the sepulchre of another, far away from his family and the church he had served so long. Possessed of more than national fame as author,

* The tomb was numbered E. and W. 25, 26—N. and S. 26, 27. The persons buried there were—John Bunyan, John Strudwick, Phœbe Bragge, Robert Bragge, Theophilus Bragge, Anne Jennion, Sarah Poole, Anne Holyhead, Elizabeth Jennings, John Long, Ensign Joseph Jennings Poole.—"Bunhill Memorials." By T. A. Jones. 1849.

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preacher, and confessor of the truth, he would probably receive more than usual demonstration of respect and affection as he was borne to his resting-place, the procession passing from Snow Hill and through the midst of the pleasant gardens which lay between Aldersgate and Bunhill Fields. This would have been in accordance with the custom of the time. Unusual demonstrations were sometimes made at the burial of illustrious Nonconformists even in those days of trial. Men of rank who had still a secret love for "the good old cause," came forth on such occasions to manifest the regard they felt. When, for instance, John Owen was buried in Bunhill Fields, the procession from St. James's, whither the body had been brought from Ealing, was attended by the carriages of sixty-seven noblemen and gentlemen, besides many mourning-coaches and persons on horseback. So, again, in the case of William Jenkyn, another of the lecturers at Pinners' Hall. Though dying as a prisoner in Newgate in 1685, he was buried with the greatest honours in Bunhill Fields, his remains being followed thither by his friends in a hundred and fifty coaches. And though no demonstration so imposing as this has been recorded of the great Dreamer, yet his literary renown and his great reputation in the City as a preacher would doubtless gather great numbers to the sorrowful scene. As George Cokayn, who, as Bunyan's lifelong friend and John Strudwick's pastor, would almost certainly conduct the funeral service, tells us: "He was removed to the great loss and unspeakable grief of many precious souls."

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And some of them, no doubt, were there to express their grief and show their regard. But while many were there, one well-known and powerful friend was absent. For that day the Lord Mayor, Sir John Shorter, was himself a dying man. On the previous Thursday he was thrown from his horse, near Newgate, when on his return from proclaiming according to custom Bartholomew Fair, and was picked up, fatally injured, some three minutes' walk from John Strudwick's house, where at that very time Bunyan lay dying. The sad news of this calamity which had overtaken his friend was probably the last piece of intelligence which reached the departing Pilgrim in this world. On the Tuesday after that Friday on which Bunyan went home to be with God, Sir John followed him across the river.

The loss of two such men at one stroke was great. The times were anxious. During those very days the Nonconformists were eagerly looking for tidings, from across the seas, of the Prince of Orange. It was the 3rd September; on the 21st George Cokayn, sending forth the unfinished book Bunyan had left in his charge, wrote thus in the preface :

“Who knows what will become of the ark of God! Therefore it is a seasonable duty with old Eli to sit trembling for it. Do we not also hear the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of wars? Mercy and judgment seem to be struggling in the same womb of Providence, and which will come out first we know not.”

Such was the feeling of that eventful time, such the anxieties added to the sorrows of parting. Many

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of those standing round that open grave in Bunhill Fields had come through rough and stormy experiences of bonds and imprisonment, as had the brother beloved whom they were laying to rest. Even yet they knew not but that the storm might still burst forth afresh as it had so many times before. His deliverance had come—not from the Prince across the seas, but from the King of Kings. And theirs—was it near or far off? Nearer than they thought. The sixty eventful years between John Bunyan's birth in 1628 and his death in 1688—that is, between the Petition of Right and the Great Revolution—were reaching their end. A new era was dawning even while they were fearing—an era of liberty. Not many days now, and the last Stuart King would have fled, and religious intolerance, if not dead—for it dies hard—should yet have received such reeling blow as to make the return of such times to England as had been, a thing no bigot need hope for, no lover of freedom need fear.

XVII

BUNYAN'S DESCENDANTS AND SUCCESSORS

BUNYAN was two months short of completing his sixtieth year when he was unexpectedly called away from his life of active service to the Church. He was not an old man, therefore, counting by years, though somewhat worn and beaten by the storms of time. Three contemporary portraits of him, taken in later life, remain to us—an oil picture by Sadler of 1685, the engraving by Sturt of 1692, and the pencil sketch by Robert White, on which were based his engraved portraits of 1679 and 1682.

The painting of 1685 by Sadler was, so far as we know, first engraved by Simpson in 1767. This engraving was in the heaviest possible style, and formed the frontispiece to the folio edition of Bunyan's works, published by Johnston, with a preface by George Whitefield. About 1780, also, this portrait was reproduced in mezzotint by Richard Houston, and published by Carington Bowles, the well-known print-seller of St. Paul's Churchyard. Three years later it was admirably engraved in small

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oval by T. E. Haid, and subsequently also by Spilsbury. On the engraving by Simpson it is stated that the original painting was then in the possession of Henry Stimson, gent. This is probably the portrait of Bunyan acquired for the National Portrait Gallery during the present year (1902). It was bequeathed to Mary, Countess of Cavan, by her father the Rev. John Olive, for many years rector of Ayott St. Lawrence, Hertfordshire.

Sturt's engraving, prefixed to the first folio edition of Bunyan's works, published in 1692, was taken from a painting which, if still in existence, is not known. It is somewhat vigorously executed, but harsh and unpleasing. Other copies from the same plate were also prefixed to the later edition of 1736-7. Charles Doe, describing this engraving in 1692, says of it: "His effigies was cut in copper, from an original paint, done to the life, by his very good friend, a Limner." But who this limner was he does not tell us.

The third portrait of Bunyan, to which reference has been made, was the earliest of all, and probably the most life-like, certainly the most expressive of the three. It is simply a pencil sketch on vellum, by Robert White, and was taken thus preliminary to the engraved sleeping portrait prefixed by him to the third edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress," published in 1679, and which was, indeed, the first of the many illustrations that book has received. The same sketch also formed the basis of the full-length portrait given with the first edition of the "Holy War" in 1682, and in which Bunyan appears as the

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typical Mansoul, with Shaddai's army on the one side and the forces of Diabolus on the other. Perhaps no artist ever issued more portraits of his eminent contemporaries than did Robert White, who was at work in this way for more than forty years. Vertue collected the names of no less than two hundred and seventy-five portraits by him, all of which are the prizes of the antiquary and the art-collector. As a mere youth he was remarkable for his power of drawing and etching, and was early placed under the instruction of Loggan, whom he rivalled in the delicacy and correctness of his likenesses. He is described as possessing a "wonderful power to take the air of a face." Before engraving a portrait he usually drew a sketch in pencil from the life, which he did with marvellous rapidity and power. Vertue thought some of these pencil sketches even superior to his prints. The one thus taken of Bunyan, on a strip of vellum—about six inches by four—was fortunately preserved, and fell into the possession of the Rev. Clayton M. Cracheroode, who died in 1799, bequeathing his splendid collection to the British Museum, where this portrait of Bunyan may now be seen.

We shall get the best idea of the personal appearance of Bunyan if we take this sketch of White's and read side by side with it that other sketch from the pen of the contemporary we have more than once supposed to be George Cokayn:

"As for his person, he was tall of stature, strong-boned, though not corpulent, somewhat of a ruddy face, with sparkling eyes, wearing his hair on his

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upper lip, after the old British fashion ; his hair reddish, but in his latter days time had sprinkled it with grey ; his nose well set, but not declining or bending, and his mouth moderately large ; his forehead something high, and his habit always plain and modest."

In addition to this, John Wilson, who had been his companion and fellow-sufferer for many years, tells us that :

"His countenance was grave and sedate, and did so to the life discover the inward frame of his heart, that it was convincing to the beholders and did strike something of awe into them that had nothing of the fear of God."

Passing from the outer to the inner man, George Cokayn tells us also that :

"He appeared in countenance to be of a stern and rough temper, but in his conversation mild and affable, not given to loquacity or much discourse in company, unless some urgent occasion required it ; observing never to boast of himself or his parts, but rather seem low in his own eyes and submit himself to the judgment of others ; abhorring lying and swearing, being just in all that lay in his power to his word, not seeming to revenge injuries, loving to reconcile differences, and make friendship with all ; he had a sharp, quick eye, accomplished with an excellent discerning of persons, being of good judgment and quick wit."

To the portraiture thus given John Wilson adds this :

"Give us leave to say his natural parts and abilities

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were not mean, his fancy and invention were very pregnant and fertile; his wit was sharp and quick; his memory tenacious, it being customary with him to commit his sermons to writing after he had preached them. His understanding was large and comprehensive, his judgment sound and deep in the fundamentals of the Gospel. A rich anointing of the Spirit was upon him, yet this great saint was always in his own eyes the chiefest of sinners and the least of saints; esteeming any, where he did believe the Truth of Grace, better than himself. He was not only well furnished with the helps and endowments of nature beyond ordinary, but eminent in the graces and gifts of the Spirit and fruits of holiness. He was a true lover of all that love our Lord Jesus and did often bewail the different and distinguishing appellations that are among the godly, saying, he did believe a time would come when they should be all buried. His carriage was condescending, affable and meek to all; yet bold and couragious for Christ's, and the gospel's sake. He was much struck at in the late times of persecution and his sufferings were great, under all which he behaved himself like Christ's soldier, being far from any sinful compliance to save himself, but did chearfully bear the cross of Christ. As a minister of Christ he was laborious in his work of preaching, diligent in his preparation for it and faithful in dispensing the word, not sparing reproof for outward circumstances whether in the pulpit or no, yet ready to succour the tempted; a son of consolation to the broken-hearted, yet a son of thunder to secure and dead sinners.

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“He was full of zeal and affection at all times (according to knowledge), more especially at his administration of the Lord’s supper, it was observable that tears came from his eyes in abundance, from the sense of the sufferings of Christ, that are in that ordinance shadowed forth. As a pastor, also, he was useful by the accuracy of his knowledge in church-discipline, and readiness to put that in practice in the Church (as occasion offered), which he saw was agreeable to the word of God, whether admonition or excommunication, or making up differences or filling up vacancies or paring off excrescencies. And as he was useful to that Church, so to the whole country round and to other churches where he did frequently spend his labours.

“His death was, and is much lamented for that reason; as also because it was somewhat sudden, and he from home at that time. His remembrance is sweet and refreshing to many and so will continue: For the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.” *

It is needless to say that Bunyan left no great store of worldly wealth behind him. For though his books had so large a sale even in his own lifetime, either they were not productive of much material wealth to their author, or we must accept the explanation given by his friend to the effect that “by reason of the many losses he sustained by imprisonment and spoil, of his chargeable sickness, &c., his earthly treasure swelled not to excess.” Certainly

* *Epistle to the Reader*, Works, 1692.

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the return given in the Book of Administrations* shows an estate of very modest proportions indeed. The following is a translation of the document :

“Bedd: 17 Oct. 1688. Administration of the Goods of John Bunyan of the said Town, deceased, was granted to Elizabeth Bunyan, Relict of the said deceased and to Tho. Woodward, of Bedford, Maultster and Wm. Nicholls of the same place, Draper, being under £100. By order of the Commissary of the Court.

“Sum of Inventory £42 19s. 0d.”

This amount would be equal to about £150 in present value. Upon this and the yearly income from his publications Elizabeth Bunyan lived on at Bedford during the year and a half which was all that she survived her husband. She died in the early part of 1691, “following her faithful pilgrim from this world to the other, whither he was gone before her.”

Bunyan had six children ; four of these, Mary, Elizabeth, John, and Thomas, being born to him by his first wife, the remaining two, Sarah and Joseph, by his second wife. His eldest daughter, Mary, his blind child, died before him, the rest surviving. His eldest son, John, was brought up to the ancestral trade of a brazier, and carried on business in the town till his death in 1728. He appears to have made no open profession of religion during his father's lifetime, but was received to the fellowship

* Registry of the Archdeaconry of Bedford.

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of the Church some five years after his father's death, on the 27th of June, 1693. There is no further mention of him in the Church records till seven years later, when we find him sent to visit those who had come under the discipline of the Church. Brother Bunyan was sent, for example, along with Brother Fenn to confer with Brother Butcher, "his sins being drunkenness, card-playing, and light, unbecoming actions about Stool Ball, and the May Pole." On similar service he was sent eight or nine times between 1700 and 1719, after which there is no further mention of his name. In the records of the Bedford Corporation we find the following entry relating to him: "1705. May 11. It is agreed that John Bunian shall have a lease of a messuage abutting westward upon Duck Lane [a lane no longer in existence, leading from Mill Lane to Lurk Lane], with backside and appurtenances, late let to Katherine Ridgment, to be for eleven years from Michaelmas next at twelve shillings per ann., with the usual covenants." Again, under date April 20th, 1716, it was ordered that John Bunian's lease be renewed for eleven years. His will, which was written out for him and attested by his father's successor, Ebenezer Chandler, is in existence in the district registry, and seems to indicate that, as he left all he had to his granddaughter Hannah Bunyan, and made her sole executrix of his will, neither wife nor child of his survived him. This will was dated September 13th, 1728, and proved the following month, and from it it would seem that the house in St. Cuthbert's, in which the writer of the "Pilgrim's

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Progress" had lived, had become his property and passed on to his eldest son; and that, so far as this eldest son was concerned, the name and line died out, for, as a tablet in the vestibule of Bunyan Meeting indicates, this Hannah Bunyan to whom John Bunyan the younger left all his possessions died unmarried in 1770 at the age of seventy-six.

There is no reference in the "Church Book" to Thomas Bunyan, the son of John. There are, however, the following entries relating to his family in the register of St. Cuthbert's parish, where he was living both before and after his father's death:

"1687. Bapt. Steven y^e sonn of Tho. Bonnyon, Nov. 14th.

"1689. Departed this Life Frances Bunyan, the wife of Thomas Bunyan on the 4th day of June."

A year or two later he appears to have married again, for in the same register we have the following entry:

"1692. Baptized Elizabeth, daughter of Thos. Bunyan, Jan. y^e 29th."

A short time after this there was received to the Church, under Ebenezer Chandler, "our sister Katherine Bunyan," who may have been Thomas's second wife. There is also this further entry in the parish register:

"1696. Bapt. Stephen y^e son of Thos. Bunyan, Dec. 25."

from which it would appear that his son Stephen, baptized in 1687, had died in the interval. The following entry is illegible, so far as the Christian names are concerned:

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"1711. Bury'd daughter of Bunyan."

Beyond these entries we know nothing of Thomas Bunyan's family, unless the Sarah Bunyan who married John Millard of St. Paul's, in 1767, and the Ann Bunyan who married Samuel Slinn of St. Mary's, in 1768, were granddaughters of his.

It will thus be seen that if there are any direct descendants of John Bunyan now living and bearing his own name, it must be through his youngest son Joseph, who was born in 1672. All that we know of this son and his Bedford life is derived from the register of St. Paul's parish, in which we find the following entries :

"1694. Dec. married Joseph Bunyan and Mary Charnock. 1695. Oct. 6th. Baptized Chernock y^e son of Joseph and Mary Bunyan. 1699. Oct. Baptized Ann, daughter of Joseph and Mary Bunyan. 1696. Nov. Buried Ann, daughter of Joseph and Mary Bunyan."

At this point all further trace of Joseph Bunyan disappears, so far as positive and reliable evidence is concerned. There is a tradition, however, that he removed into Nottinghamshire or Lincolnshire, and conformed to the Church of England. Whether descended from him or not, it is certain that during the last century, and on into this, there were Bunyans both at Lincoln and Nottingham. The last of the name was Robert Bunyan, who died in 1855 at the age of eighty. He combined with his occupation of watchmaker the office of coroner for the city of Lincoln, and seems to have accumulated considerable wealth. He had the place of business opposite St.

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Peter's-at-Arches, now occupied by Mr. Fisher, the jeweller; and it is said by old tradesmen of the town that his clocks, for the excellence of their workmanship, were famous all the country round. There is a monument to his memory in Lincoln cemetery, expressive of the respect of his fellow-citizens, and stating that he was a descendant of the writer of the "Pilgrim's Progress." His father, Robert Bunyan of Bunker's Hill, in the parish of Nettleham, also lived on to the age of eighty, and was buried in 1825 in the churchyard of St. Peter's-at-Arches, his gravestone being close to the street. The father of this man, again, was a Robert Bunyan also, who was born in 1715, and died in 1794. So far all seems clear enough. But at this point arises the difficulty of connecting this Robert Bunyan with Joseph Bunyan, whose eldest son, Chernock, would only be twenty years of age when the Robert in question was born. The family of the Lincoln Bunyans have drawn up a pedigree, which has been kindly furnished to me through Canon Venables. This document is on sure ground as far back as 1715, earlier than that it is confessedly conjectural. It states that "the celebrated John Bunyan married his first wife Mary in 1646, and by her had issue Thomas, the eldest son, born 1646, died 1718; his eldest son, John, was born 1670, having issue Robert, 1693, who was married in 1713, and was the father of Robert," mentioned above, born in 1715. This pedigree seems on the face of it to have all its links complete, but unfortunately it is weakest at the point where we could have wished it to be strongest.

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At the time it states that John Bunyan was married he was, as we now know, only a month or two over seventeen years of age. His eldest son was not Thomas, but John, and John died in 1728, leaving, as we have seen, only a granddaughter, who died unmarried in 1770.

If we turn to the Bunyans of Nottingham we come upon a similar difficulty. We can trace them certainly enough as far back as 1754, and then all our information fails. In 1754 George Bunyan was married to Mary Haywood at St. Nicholas' Church, and had eleven children, whose names are given in the register of that church. The names of George Bunyan, hosier, in Castle Gate, and of his brother, Captain William Bunyan, in Woolpack Lane, are both found in the Nottingham "Burgess List" of 1774, as voting for the Honourable William Howe at the parliamentary election for that year. In the previous "Poll List" of 1747 there are no Bunyan names, nor are there any after that of 1774. It is said that George Bunyan suffered in his business in consequence of the part he took in the election referred to; that Lord Howe made him Inspector of Stores in Philadelphia, where he died of fever; and that his brother, Captain William Bunyan, was drowned at sea.

This is all that can be said. The registers of the parish churches of Lincoln and Nottingham have been searched, as have also the lists of wills in both Registries of the District Courts of Probate, but without further result. The connection between the Bunyans of Lincoln and Nottingham is tolerably

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certain ; their descent from John Bunyan of Bedford not so certain. It is possible, even probable, but at present not proven.

It has been mentioned that Bunyan had three daughters as well as three sons, and that Mary, his blind daughter, died before him. His second daughter, Elizabeth, was married in 1677 to Gilbert Ashley of the Castle Mill, as we find from the following entry in the register of Goldington Church:

“1677. Matrimonium solemnizatum inter Gilbertum Ashley et Elizabetham Bunyan, April 16^o.”

This Gilbert Ashley the miller was a man of sufficient local importance to issue copper tokens in his own name, one of which is in the possession of the Archæological Society at Bedford. He was an earnest member of the church under Bunyan's care, and, as a document in the State Paper Office shows, in 1672 Bunyan applied for a licence for Edward Isaac to preach at the house of Gilbert Ashley in Goldington. It is not known whether there were any children of this marriage with Elizabeth Bunyan.

Of the remaining daughter, Sarah Bunyan, we have more positive knowledge ; indeed, the only descendants of John Bunyan now living, of whom we are certain, have sprung from her. Her marriage is recorded in the St. Cuthbert's register, at Bedford, as follows : “1686: Married, William Browne to Sarah Bunyan, Both of this Parish. December 19.” Of the immediate children of this Sarah Bunyan we have no knowledge, but her granddaughter Frances Browne, who was born in 1722, and who afterwards

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became the wife of Charles Bithrey, a prosperous yeoman at Carlton in Bedfordshire, died as recently as January 7, 1803. This great-granddaughter of John Bunyan lived and died at the old Manor House in Carlton, known as "The Fishers," a name probably derived from earlier occupants, there being a Gideon Fisher in the parish in 1672, whose house was licensed for Nonconformist worship under the first Declaration of Indulgence. Frances Bithrey was the second wife of her husband, and survived him nineteen years. She was held in great esteem in the parish, and having about her a certain air of old-world respectability, was familiarly known among the villagers as "Madam" Bithrey. The youngsters of the place, especially, remembered her from the fact that after her husband's death she gave every year, on his birthday, a penny loaf to every child in the village by way of keeping up his memory among them. Judging from an ivory miniature portrait, taken in her eightieth year, she had to the last a vigorous face and blue eyes, with light and meaning in them. She was a zealous friend to the Baptist Church in Carlton, of which she was a member, and to its minister, the Rev. Charles Vorley, to whom she presented a house for his residence, which is still in the possession of his family. She died childless, in 1803, after which "The Fishers" and a cottage close by, together with forty acres of land, came to the children of her nephew, William Brown of Carlton, who died in 1800. To Mr. Vorley, her minister, she bequeathed £200 in the Four per Cents., and various articles of furniture, including "my cedar nest of

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drawers." This little cabinet, thus described, had come to her as an heirloom of the family, having been the property of her distinguished ancestor, John Bunyan; it is now in the possession of the Bunyan Meeting Trustees.

These Browns, so far as we know with certainty, are the only living descendants of John Bunyan, and sprang, as we have said, from his daughter Sarah. The William Brown mentioned in this will of "Madam" Bithrey's as her nephew at Bedford is described in a little directory of 1785 as a clothier, and in still later times a descendant of his was the local Pickford, whose waggons, drawn by their six horses each, carried on the heavy traffic with London up to the time when the rail superseded the road. Of the one son and four daughters of William Brown of Carlton we have more precise information owing to the legal disposition of property under "Madam" Bithrey's will. William Brown, the son, died in 1848, and is represented by his children, George, Richard, John, and Sarah Brown, who are or were all living together unmarried, at Bozeat, in Northamptonshire; Thomas Brown of Wellingborough; Stephen Brown, of Guilsborough, in the same county; and Henry Brown of Great Oaks Farm, at Turvey, in Bedfordshire. The four daughters were—Elizabeth, afterwards Norman, who died childless; Sarah, who was married to Stephen Benbrook, and whose family are in America; Frances, who was married to William Johnson, two of whose daughters live at Newton Blossomville, co. Bucks; and one at Staggsden, in Bedfordshire; and Mary, who was married

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to William Davison of Turvey, and whose youngest daughter, her only surviving child, lives at Toronto. The different members of this widespread family are quite aware of their relationship to Bunyan, one of the four sisters keeping up the memory of the fact in the name of her son, John Bunyan Johnson, but beyond this, Bunyan's kinsfolk seem not to have felt any very lively interest in their kinship. One of them, a man of sixty-five, admitted that, though he knew he was descended from its author, he had not yet read the "Pilgrim's Progress," explaining this curious literary fact by saying that he "never was much given to books."

Turning from Bunyan's kindred by descent, it may be interesting now to give some brief account of his successors in the ministry of the Church at Bedford. Referring for a moment first to his predecessors, it will be remembered that John Gifford and John Burton were really rectors of the parish of St. John under Cromwell's Established Church. The next two, Samuel Fenn and John Whiteman, were chosen at the beginning of the times of persecution when the Church had no fixed place of meeting, and they still followed their ordinary callings, Samuel Fenn remaining a haberdasher in the High Street, and John Whiteman living on as a yeoman at Cardington. They were therefore not pastors in the sense in which Bunyan was after the Declaration of Indulgence. John Whiteman died in 1672, and though "our honoured brother, Samuel Fenn, one of the Elders of this Congregation," as Bunyan describes him, lived on till 1681, the work of the pastorate

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really fell upon Bunyan himself, who had been appointed nearly ten years before.

The immediate successor of Bunyan was Ebenezer Chandler, who first came among the Bedford people towards the end of 1689. He was a member of the London Church of which Richard Taylor was pastor, and the brethren of which transferred him "in order to his being separated to office work," and, as they say, "from the prospect of his being eminently serviceable to the common interest of our Lord Jesus Christ, we are brought (although with no small reluctance) to grant y^r Request, and are willing to impoverish ourselves for the enriching of you." The pastor thus sent down to the Bedford Church at their own request remained with them till his death in 1747, his connection with them thus extending over the long period of fifty-seven years. Till 1707 the Church continued to worship in the barn in which Bunyan had preached since 1672; but in that year a new building was erected for the congregation, which had increased under the larger liberty brought in by the Act of Toleration.

The new building thus erected in 1707, and long known in Bedford as the Old Meeting, remained till 1849, and in spite of baldness and even ugliness was dear and venerable to the hearts of many from the sacred associations of a lifetime. It took the prevailing shape of the many meeting-houses built after the Revolution, having three gabled ridges, the roof being supported by two sets of four oaken pillars within. In its pristine simplicity these pillars were at first merely straight oak-trees with the bark

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removed, and it was not till a more refined generation that they were planed into octagon shape. Three of those reaching from floor to roof and standing midway between the pulpit and the front gallery received, in later times, the names of three venerable men in the Church who had long been pillars in the spiritual house. The meeting when finished would accommodate eight hundred people, and cost £400, a price per sitting which would be the despair of modern architects. The long way of the building ran from north to south, and on the long side to the east, between two tall windows stood the pulpit, opposite to which and somewhat close upon it was the long front gallery which was completed by two short end galleries. Standing endwise towards the pulpit, in what was called the "table-pew," was a massive oaken communion-table some thirteen feet long, and round this at the ordinary services sat fourteen or fifteen aged poor men to whom this conspicuous place was accorded as a sort of testimony to their quiet worth and the general esteem in which they were held among the brethren. By virtue of an unwritten law, the usage of generations, no sister ever seems to have sat in that chief place accorded to the poorer brethren. The pulpit itself was, of course, the prominent feature, with its large book-board, its great cushion of crimson or blue, and its lofty panelled back-board, on which was visible the large brass holder from which was suspended the preacher's hat with its silken band on the then frequent occasions when funeral sermons were preached. The ceiling of the building was low and the windows,

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with the exception of the one on each side of the pulpit, narrow and small, so that the place with its heavy galleries must have worn a sombre aspect of gloom; yet the old people, to whom the venerable place was dearer than the stateliest cathedral could ever be, still maintain that when the pews, all converging towards the preacher's desk, were filled, as they usually were, with earnest faces, it was a grand and noble sight.

In the days of Ebenezer Chandler the services, in winter at least, began at what seems to us an unconscionably early time, when we remember that some of the congregation had come from as far as Gamlingay, nearly fifteen miles away. Under date October, 1697, there is this entry in the Church Book: "The Lord's Supper was deferd for the advantage of light nights till the 2nd Lord's day in Nov. and then to begin our Publick Meeting at nine in the morning and at twelve at noon y^t our country members may have time to go home."

If these services, begun thus early, had not many adventitious aids from the architecture of the building in which they were held, neither had they from the inspiring influence of music. It seems strange to us to find that all through Bunyan's time there was not so much as the singing of a hymn at public worship. In this sober order of procedure, however, his people were not so singular as might be supposed; for even in churches the musical element in the services had fallen almost to the point of extinction. The version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, men, as Thomas Fuller says, whose piety was better

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than their poetry, had not yet given place to the new version of Tate and Brady; and Robert Nelson tells us that even serious people excused themselves from taking part in the psalmody because of the bad poetry, which Wesley went so far as to call scandalous doggerel. Much later even than this time we read of that "shameful mode of psalmody almost confined to the wretched solo of a parish clerk, or to a few persons huddled together in one corner of the church, who sung to the praise and glory of themselves for the entertainment and oftener to the wearisomeness of the congregation." * The new era of hymnology had not yet dawned, and the loftier strain of song had not yet been awakened even in the services of the national church.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that it was either the bad poetry of Sternhold and Hopkins or the soul-harrowing music of parish clerks that kept the meeting-house silent from hymns of praise. George Fox had influenced the minds of many outside the Quaker Communion so that they came to think of psalmody as an invention of man in the worship of God, and books were written to show that the only Scriptural singing was that from the heart. Something like this was the feeling at Bedford, as the following entry in the "Act-Book" of the Church would seem to indicate: "At a Church meeting at Bedford the 20th day of October, 1690, It was debated and agreed that Publick Singing of Psalms be practised by the Church with a caushion that non others perform it but such as can sing with Grace in

* T. Haweis' *Carmina Christo*. Preface.

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there Hearts According to the Command of Christ." In the margin it is noted: "Brethren agreed to it: 18; dissent from it: 2." It would appear, however, that the singing thus agreed upon was confined to the afternoon service, as this extract shows: "June 7th, 1697: Our Brother Chandler did then move that himself and those of his principle might have Lybertie to sing the praises of God in the morning of the Lord's day as well as the Afternoon, and at all times when he preached or those there are willing so to do, there being full Libertie for the practice of it in all other parts of the Church, and after some debate it was consented to by the Church in generall." Even yet, however, the practice seems not to have accorded with the resolution after debate; for at a Church Meeting held about Michaelmas 1700, "'Twas agreed on y^t there should be liberty to sing at every meeting of preaching week dayes as well as Lord's day, and on those dayes morning and afternoon, and also leave was given for the pronouncing the Blessing after prayer."

Ebenezer Chandler remained pastor at Bedford from the reign of William and Mary to that of the second George, dying on June 24, 1747. Towards the end of life he was afflicted with blindness, and totally laid aside from public work in the March of 1744. His portrait, presenting him in gown and bands, with the curled flowing wig of the period surrounding a strong sturdy face, still remains, but as he published nothing during his long public life beyond the preface to the folio edition of Bunyan's works of 1692, and as there are no con-

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temporary references to him, we have scanty means of estimating his character and influence.

His colleague and successor, the Rev. Samuel Sanderson, who first came to Bedford February 16, 1737, though not destined to so long a service as Chandler, yet remained for the extended period of twenty-nine years. A native of Sheffield and educated at a grammar school in Hull, he was afterwards trained for the ministry, first under the Rev. Timothy Jollie of Attercliffe, and afterwards by the Rev. John Eames, F.R.S., of Newington Green. Mr. Eames, a man of some eminence in scientific pursuits, was the friend of Sir Isaac Newton, through whose influence he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. At a later period John Howard was one of his pupils, and he had among his students at different times Dr. Furneaux, Dr. Savage, Dr. Price, and Thomas Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. After completing his studies at Newington Green, Mr. Sanderson resided for some time as chaplain in the house of Justice Birch, Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, occasionally preaching in and about London. In 1730 we find him settled as minister over the new Independent congregation gathered at Kensington, and he acted also as Assistant Minister of the Weigh House in Eastcheap. He first came to Bedford February 26, 1737, and remained there for the rest of his life. His wife was the granddaughter of Sir Francis Wingate of Harlington, her mother Frances Wingate having married Thomas Woodward, one of the deacons of the Old Meeting, and it may be remembered that

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Mrs. Sanderson's sister Ann, also a Wingate, married the Rev. James Belsham, and became the mother of Thomas and William Belsham, men of some literary repute at the end of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Sanderson was a man of solid worth and of great weight of judgment and character. He sent out into the ministry from the Church at Bedford two men of more than ordinary power and influence, Samuel Palmer, one of the successors of Matthew Henry at Hackney, and editor of the *Nonconformist Memorial*, and William Bull, of Newport Pagnel, a man of genius himself and the chosen friend, addressed as "Charissime Taurorum," by his neighbour William Cowper, the poet of Olney. Both these men spoke of Samuel Sanderson and of his influence in the formation of their characters with the utmost veneration and affection. Referring to the sermons he heard from him in his earlier days at Bedford, William Bull says: "I seemed to feel the dawnings of the sun of righteousness on my soul. I never before experienced so much pleasure or benefit from hearing."* Samuel Palmer, also, when called upon to preach the funeral sermon of this good man, speaks of Samuel Sanderson as "one with whom I enjoyed a friendship which I esteem one of the greatest felicities of my life, and which I shall think of with pleasure and gratitude to the latest period of it."† A man of more than usually vigorous

* "Memories of the Rev. William Bull," by his Grandson, the Rev. Josiah Bull, M.A., 1864, p. 18.

† "The Appearing of Christ the Chief Shepherd"; a sermon occasioned by the much lamented death of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Sanderson, preached at Bedford, January 29, 1766. By Samuel Palmer.

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health, Mr. Sanderson died after only a few days' illness, on January 24, 1766. As this illness day by day betrayed more serious symptoms, he sent parting words of loving admonition to the people among whom he had lived so happily for nearly thirty years, blessed God for bringing him among them, and entreating them not to pray too much for his life, but rather that he might have patience to hold out to the end. As the hours went by he continued lifting up his heart in prayer for them, till at last his mind, "like sweet bells jangled out of tune," became delirious. Even then the old thoughts and the old love came over him. In his delirium he fancied himself once more in the pulpit where he had loved to be. Once more he gave out his text, a verse from Ecclesiastes, appealing especially to the young, and then proceeded to address this portion of his flock with much of the old orderliness of thought and characteristic warmth of heart. The sermon ended he once more, too, in the old familiar way asked the Great Father to make these words of his to be living words to those to whom he thought he had spoken them. So preaching and praying to the last, he went away upward to the higher service.

His successor at Bedford was Joshua Symonds, the son of an apothecary at Kidderminster, whom Joseph Williams, the Christian merchant of that town, describes as one of those good men for whom "per-adventure some would even dare to die." Young Joshua was at first intended for a farming life, but was eventually prevailed on by Mr. Wylde, the minister of Carr's Lane Chapel, Birmingham, to enter

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the Congregational ministry, for which he was trained by Dr. Conder of Mile End. Sent down to preach at Bedford in March 1766, he was shortly after invited by the vacant Church to become its pastor, an invitation he accepted, remaining with them till his death, twenty-two years later, in 1788.

During the years of Joshua Symonds' Bedford life he was associated with a little knot of people of more than local celebrity and influence. John Howard had come to his pleasant seat at Cardington, two miles from Bedford, in 1758, and had connected himself with the congregation at the Old Meeting, subsequently spending his Sundays in a house built by him, close to the three-ridged building where he worshipped. This house, erected on what was originally John Eston's garden, "The Pynners," had its west wall towards the burial-ground where so many of the worthies of a past generation lay sleeping. The trelliswork on the east is still covered with a spreading vine, planted by Howard himself, and the sitting-room to the north, with the bedroom over it, were the rooms used by the great philanthropist when staying in the town. While still retaining his membership with the Church at Stoke Newington, he was always a warm friend to the cause of Dissent in the town to the neighbourhood of which he had come. In 1767 he gave a piece of land from his own garden for the enlargement of the burial-ground; the same year he subscribed £50 towards the purchase of a house which had first been the private residence of Ebenezer Chandler, and then of Samuel Sanderson, that it might be in perpetuity the manse

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for the ministers of the church ; and in 1770 he contributed £70 towards the restoration of the quaint old Meeting House, his neighbour Mr. Samuel Whitbread contributing also "six score guineas" to the same desirable object. Out of the latter gift the spreading many-lighted brass chandelier, so familiar to the worshippers at the Old Meeting, was purchased ; while out of Mr. Howard's donation was obtained the old oaken pulpit, which remained the place of exhortation till the erection of a new sanctuary in 1849.

Besides the distinguished man to whom reference has just been made there were other people who came ever and again to the Bedford of those days whom it must have been pleasant to meet. The old house in the south-west corner of St. Paul's Square, recently turned into the Girls' Modern School, was inhabited in the early part of last century by Thomas Woodward, a brewer. His father was the Thomas Woodward who was one of Bunyan's administrators in 1688, and he himself was a deacon of the church, and had married, as has been said, one of the Non-conformist daughters of Sir Francis Wingate. After him there lived in the old house his nephew, Francis Jennings, the son of the Rev. John Jennings of Kibworth, Doddridge's tutor. He, too, was a member of the Bedford church, and a trustee, though it must be owned that his scarlet slippers and his wife's flowing ringlets were regarded by the more sober brethren and sisters as coming perilously near the doubtful ways of an evil world. After Francis Jennings' death, in 1765, the Rev. James Belsham

came to live in the house so long associated with the family into which he had married. In his time again it was still the centre of refined intercourse, lighted up by the presence of his wife, a gentlewoman whose letters show how culture and piety may be blended. The circle included also his two sons, Thomas and William Belsham, men of intellectual mark, and his daughter Elizabeth, whom her cousin, Anna Lætitia Aikin, afterwards better known as Mrs. Barbauld, addresses playfully as "Betsy, the joy of the plain," and whom she describes as one who, while "accustomed to mix in the most elegant company, can make herself happy in the plainest, and make them happy by her condescension."

Mrs. Barbauld herself was often a guest in the house, as were her brother, Dr. Aikin, and his daughter Lucy, with their kinsman, Gilbert Wakefield, all of them people of some literary reputation. At an earlier time also Dr. Doddridge had tarried here with the Jenningses, with whom he had been so intimately associated, and it was here, too, as well as at Warrington, that John Howard and John Aikin conferred together and put into shape that book on the "State of Prisons," by which the great philanthropist roused the conscience both of the parliament and the people of England. It would seem, indeed, that out of these meetings in St. Paul's Square there might easily have grown a closer tie between the grave philanthropist and the poetical and vivacious Anna Lætitia. It is said by one of her kinsfolk that after the death of his wife Henrietta, Howard made her an offer of marriage, a statement

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which seems to be borne out by the last letter she wrote before her marriage with Mr. Barbauld to her friend Betsy Belsham (May 22, 1774), in which she says: "It was too late, as you say, or I believe I should have been in love with Mr. Howard. Seriously, I looked upon him with that sort of reverence and love which one should have for a guardian angel. God bless him and preserve his health for the health sake of thousands." That year, though returned at the poll, Howard was defeated on an inquiry in committee of the House of Commons as to the validity of certain votes, in the election for the borough, Sir William Wake being returned along with Mr. Whitbread. On this Mrs. Barbauld wrote to her friend: "Truly, I did not know whether I was in charity enough with Bedford to write to you at all. No, never more shall I think of you with patience. If it were in my power I believe I should put your town under a sentence of excommunication. Your worthy Mayor, Mr. Cawne, I see by the newspapers, has acted very wisely, and slipped out of the way, not chusing to have his house pulled over his head. I commend him for it.* All I can say to *you* is, that you should shake off the dust of your feet against the town and come to us at Palgrave, where we will drink Mr. Howard's health every day in a glass of lemonade, and wish, not that he should represent his

* The mayor, in order to defeat Mr. Howard, who was regarded as the representative of "Presbyterians, Moravians, and other sectaries," had struck off from the poll, after the election and for the first time, the votes of all recipients of the Harpur Charity.

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unworthy borough, but that they in some degree may resemble him. As Mr. Whitbread is, however, chosen, I should be glad to know how you disposed of the favour you said you had made up, whether you wore that on one sleeve and a mourning knot on the other, or how you managed ?” *

While the little provincial town was brightened by such people as these—of more than provincial fame—there were other visitors also who, as Joshua Symonds’ daughter tells us, looked in at her father’s manse, as it stood in its pleasant garden and orchard in Well Street. Lady Austen, the friend of Cowper, and Thomas Scott, the commentator, from Weston Underwood; John Newton, also from Olney, called in on his way to his friend Barham, the retired West India planter, a member of the Moravian Church, who lived on the other side of Foster’s Hill. To the manse also Newton sent to his friend Symonds some of those characteristic letters which were afterwards printed in the “Cardiphonia.” Here also came year by year John Thornton the banker, Wilberforce’s brother-in-law, his carriage so stacked up with Bibles, Testaments, and other good books for distribution that there was scarcely room for himself, and after leaving £15 or £20 for benevolent purposes went on his way again. Joshua Symonds’ daughter, Mrs. Emery, who preserved so many of these gossiping details for us, was herself a curiosity worthy of mention. She died as lately as 1862, at the age of ninety-three, and remembered three generations of

* From unpublished letters from Mrs. Barbauld to Miss Belsham, now in the possession of Miss Reid, Hampstead.

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her ancestors, and saw four of her descendants. She recalled how, as a child, she had been lifted up to the window to see a gentleman carrying an umbrella, as one of the latest novelties; how she rode to London in her uncle's carriage, the postillion avoiding the main streets as they approached the city, because the buildings were on fire from the Gordon Riots, and the rioters were raging; and she could distinctly recollect her great-grandfather, Mr. Ludd, who, born in the year of the Revolution, lived to be ninety, so that these two lives stretched from 1688 to 1862.

Joshua Symonds, like his predecessors Chandler and Sanderson, was a Pædo-baptist on his first coming to Bedford, but six years later he publicly announced his adoption of Baptist views. Conscientious and frankly honest, he wished, he said, to be relieved from the necessity of baptizing infants or adults by aspersion, and promised that if he might have liberty of conscience in the matter he would do nothing to disturb the peace of the Church on the question at issue. This was in February 1772, and the Church resolved to take a year for deliberation before coming to a final conclusion as to his continuance as their pastor. In the month of July, however, objection was taken by some that he was seeking unduly to spread his views among those already in fellowship. John Howard, who seems to have felt strongly on the matter, addressed a letter to the deacons, while another brother sent one to the Church, in remonstrance and protesting against the continuance of Mr. Symonds. The majority were, however, in favour of his continuance, provided he would make

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arrangements for the baptism of their children and would refrain from undue proselytism to the views he had embraced. Upon this, John Howard and other members of the congregation withdrew and formed a separate Church, worshipping in what was at first called the Second Meeting and is now known as Howard Chapel. It is pleasant to find from Mr. Symonds' Diary that he and the great philanthropist remained in unbroken friendship even when separated in their fellowship, and that John Howard subsequently subscribed £10 towards the stipend of the minister whose services he had left.

After this separation a new Trust Deed was drawn up in 1774, and the Church at the Old Meeting was, for the first time in its history, defined and described as a "Congregation or Society of Protestants Dissenting from the Church of England, commonly called Independents or Congregationists, holding mixt communion with those who scruple the Baptizing of Infants, commonly called Baptists." This description has been continued in subsequent deeds.

In 1773 the Senatus Academicus of Rhode Island, now Brown University, United States, conferred upon Mr. Symonds the honorary degree of M.A., a similar distinction being accorded at the same time to Augustus Toplady, John Newton, Robert Robinson, of Cambridge, and others. Mr. Symonds' diploma is still in existence and is one of the latest American documents of the kind, bearing the Colonial Seal of Great Britain with the embossed medallions of King George and Queen Charlotte upon it.

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Joshua Symonds died November 23, 1788, after a long and trying time of suffering, and was succeeded in his ministry by Samuel Hillyard, who first came to Bedford in December 1790. Born at Wellingborough, in 1770, he was the son of the Rev. Thomas Hillyard, afterwards of Olney, and was trained for his work in the Institution presided over by the Rev. William Bull of Newport Pagnel. A mere youth of twenty he came to a position which might well have tried a much older man, for there were discordant elements, the issue of which was another secession, and the formation of a separate Baptist Church in the town. But with singular tact and amiability the young minister bore himself so as to pluck up weeds and drain away waters of bitterness. During the nearly forty-nine years he presided over them, the church and congregation steadily grew in numbers and influence, obtaining a position not reached hitherto in their history. Genial and kindly in the common intercourse of life, and most persuasive as a preacher of Christ's Gospel, Samuel Hillyard, like his distinguished predecessor John Bunyan, was a veritable Bishop among the churches of the county and even beyond the county border. Every good cause seemed to awaken the interest and inspire the ardour of this warm-hearted man: the evangelisation of the heathen abroad, and the spreading the gospel among the villages of Bedfordshire at home; the emancipation of the slave, and the enfranchisement of his fellow-countrymen.

Loved by, and loving such friends as these, and loved most of all by the people among whom he

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spent a public life of nearly half a century, Samuel Hillyard was called to his rest on March 4, 1839. Those who remember him, therefore, are growing few; but with those few his memory is still fragrant, and they rarely speak of him but with some kind word expressive of enduring esteem.

We are close upon our own day when we come to his successor, the Rev. John Jukes, formerly of Yeovil, who settled at Bedford on the first Sunday of 1840. Along with Dr. Vaughan, afterwards president of the Lancashire College, he was placed under the care of the Rev. William Thorp, of Bristol, a man of some eminence in his day as a preacher. In many respects a contrast to his predecessor, Mr. Jukes was yet a man of weight and worth, who did good service of a steady solid sort through the more than twenty-six years he was pastor of the Bedford Church. Defective in the quality of humour and in power of imagination, his preaching was yet instructive and impressive, and his conduct in public life, if erring on the side of caution, was marked by firmness and kindliness. Together with his friend and neighbour, the Rev. William Alliot of Howard Chapel, he carried on a missionary college at Bedford, in which were trained very many of those sent out by the London Missionary Society, besides many other young men who were preparing for colleges elsewhere with a view to the ministry at home.

In 1849 the venerable three-ridged Meeting was taken down, the present place of worship being erected on the site and opened in 1850. From 1854 Mr. Jukes had as co-pastor the Rev. J. J. Insull, a

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man of earnest spirit, who died in the autumn of 1863. The same year in which this colleague died, the senior minister himself sustained a serious shock to his health, and within three years from that time was called to his rest on May 22, 1866, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. The scene at his funeral was a remarkable manifestation of the esteem in which he was held by the town at large. On the hillside on which the cemetery stands it seemed as if the whole community had come forth to express the widespread feeling that a consistent, honourable, and useful career had come to its close.

The present writer, who is now the minister, accepted the invitation of the Bedford Church on April 15, 1864. In 1867 the new school-buildings behind Bunyan Meeting were opened, and in 1876 the Duke of Bedford presented to the congregation the noble bronze doors at the entrance of their place of worship. These doors are the work of Mr. Frederick Thrupp, and are marked by fine artistic feeling and power, the sense of which grows upon us as we look. There are ten panels in alto-relievo, presenting these ten scenes from the "Pilgrim's Progress": (1) Christian reproached by his family; (2) Goodwill helping Christian through the gate; (3) Christian met by the Shining Ones; (4) Christian sleeping in the arbour; (5) Christian passing the lions; (6) Simple, Sloth, and Presumption; (7) In the armoury of the Palace Beautiful; (8) Demas in the Silver Mine; (9) The death of Faithful; (10) Crossing the River. Mr. Thrupp was engaged upon this work for more than two years, simply as a labour of love, and

without any conception as to its ultimate destination. Eventually a brother artist, Mr. Richmond, struck by the beauty and feeling expressed in these scenes from the "Pilgrim," brought them under the notice of the Duke of Bedford, whose generous kindness seized the opportunity of giving to the town of Bedford a noble work of art which will be a possession for ever, and to the artist himself the pleasant satisfaction of feeling that his work stands where for so many years Bunyan himself stood as a preacher of the truth.

The sketch thus briefly given is a faithfully told story of one of the free churches of this country which is still strong and vigorous after the vicissitudes of more than two centuries. It still carries on its Christian work in the town and in the villages round as in the old days, and may fairly be regarded as a reliable testimony to the worth and enduringness of Christian willinghood. Cradled in the storms of persecution, it has outlived them, and through evil report and good report pursued its beneficent course to this day. It has asked nothing from the State but freedom to work out those convictions of the Christian life received from Christ Himself and unfolded by the Spirit of God. In the long-continued harmony and enduring peace of its fellowship it has seemed as if the benedictions of the sainted confessors of the earlier time still hovered near. What is perhaps unique in the history of a church, all its former ministers, as this narrative has shown, have continued at their post of service till death itself removed them. In the month of August 1888, two centuries had

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passed away since Bunyan died, yet the present minister is only the sixth in succession since that great Englishman laid down his trust.

And while in previous years and generations there have been honourable and able men in the pulpit, there have also been honourable and devout men and women in the pew, of whom any Christian community might well be proud. From the times of John Eston, Anthony Harrington, and "that reverend man, John Grew"; from the days of those devout women who sat talking in the summer's sunshine of the joys and sorrows of the spiritual life, down to our own times, there has been a long and unbroken succession of Christian men and women, of very many of whom it may indeed be said that they were the excellent of the earth. We glorify God in them. Recalling the long and honourable roll of the sainted dead we but the more magnify their Saviour and ours, that Saviour whose divine beauty, shining through them, made them what they were, and in whose eternal life both they and we find that true unity of the Church which in systems and creeds will ever be sought for in vain.

XVIII

BUNYAN'S POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATIONS

For the preservation of those MSS. of Bunyan which remained unpublished at the time of his death we are indebted to the untiring devotion of his enthusiastic admirer, Charles Doe, who tells us in his own good, simple way how he, a comb-maker, came to take in hand the publishing and selling of books. After narrating how he first became acquainted with Bunyan, as already described (p. 126), he goes on to say :

“In March, 1686, as I was reading Mr. Bunyan’s Book *Saved by Grace*, I thought certainly this is the best Book that was ever writ or I read except the Bible, and then I remembered I had received a great deal of comfort in all of his Books. Some time after my assurance, and being under the sense of the peculiar Love of God, it came into my mind as I was upon my Stair-head what work I should do for God, and about the middle of the Stairs I reckoned that to sell books was the best I could do, and by that time I came to the bottom I concluded

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to sell Mr. Bunyan's, and so I began to sell Books and have sold about 3,000 of Mr. Bunyan's, and also have been concerned in printing the following Books : The works of Mr. John Bunyan in folio, and the *Heavenly Footman* by John Bunyan."

This account is given in a little book entitled "A Collection of Experience, by Charles Doe. London: Printed by Charles Doe, a Comb-maker, between the Hospital and London Bridge, 1700."

It would appear that there had been some scheme projected in the author's lifetime for publishing a Collected Edition of the Works of Bunyan. Doe describes the folio edition of 1692 as "containing ten of his excellent manuscripts prepared for the press before his death, never before printed, and Ten of his Choyce Books formerly printed. Collected and Printed by the Procurement of his Church and Friends, and *by his own Approbation before his Death.*" Elsewhere also in his "Struggler" he says: "It had succeeded in Mr. Bunyan's lifetime even all his labours in folio; but that an interested Bookseller opposed it." Chandler and Wilson add: "The Propriety of several pieces already Printed is lodg'd in Particular Persons' hands who were not willing, to resign up their Rights at reasonable Rates." Probably this refers mainly to Nathaniel Ponder, who, having for some time past discovered that the "Pilgrim's Progress" was a good book in a sense other than the religious one, was unwilling to let go his hold of it even so far as to let it appear in folio form. Possibly also the same difficulty prevented the completion of Doe's design; for while on his

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
title-page he has the words—*the first volume*—no second volume made its appearance till more than forty years afterwards. Soon after Bunyan's death, therefore, Doe set about the preparation of the first volume of the collected works. Many of them in their separate form were growing scarce even then. He had, he says, by great labour secured a single copy of some of them, and that others "are not to be bought; and that I have proved by often trying most London booksellers; and before that, given them about twice the price for a book; and I know not how to get another of those sorts for any price whatsoever." He first issued, in 1691, a circular containing thirty "Reasons why Christian People should Promote by subscription the Printing in folio the labours of Mr. John Bunyan." When the volume appeared he tells us that "notwithstanding the many discouragements I have met with in my struggles in this so great a work, we have (and I may believe by the blessing of the Lord) gotten about 400 subscriptions, whereof about thirty are ministers."

It was intended to issue the work to subscribers at about twelve shillings for a book containing 140 sheets, but "by reason of the smallness of the writing of the manuscript it could not be so exactly computed"—as the Church Book shows, Bunyan had two styles of handwriting, one bolder, and one exceedingly minute—so that the volume ran on to 155 sheets, and the price to a shilling more, with which Doe hopes the subscribers will not be displeased.

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This folio edition of 1692 was prefaced by an epistle to the reader, the joint production of Ebenezer Chandler, Bunyan's successor at Bedford, and John Wilson, the minister at Hitchin, his friend of many years. It was printed and published by William Marshall, at the Bible, in Newgate Street, and had for a frontispiece the engraved portrait of Bunyan by Sturt. It contained also a folded sheet with engraved "map, shewing the order and causes of salvation and damnation;" on one half being shown the path of life, and on the other the way of death. This map was originally published as a broadside about the year 1664, and sold for six-pence.

The following were the ten new MSS. contained in the volume and prepared for the press by Bunyan himself:

(1) "An Exposition on the Ten first chapters of Genesis and part of the Eleventh." This work ends abruptly in the midst of an account of the Tower of Babel, and with this note, " This is all Mr. Bunyan hath writ of this *Exposition*, as we perceive by the blank paper following the manuscript."

(2) The treatise, "Justification by imputed righteousness," is in the line of previous writings of his, and is an unfolding and enforcement of the proposition "that there is no other way for sinners to be justified from the curse of the law in the sight of God than by the imputation of that righteousness long ago performed by, and still residing with, the person of Jesus Christ."

(3) The next of the MSS., first published in 1692,

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is entitled "Paul's Departure and Crown," being an extended sermon on 2 Tim. iv. 6-8. He shows what it is to be offered up and what to be ready to be offered up. Paul sees in death something more than the common fate of men. As a believer's prayers and praises are a sacrifice and an acceptable offering to God, so should his death and martyrdom for the Gospel be both sweet in the nostrils of God and of profit to his Church.

(4) Under the title of "Israel's Hope Encouraged," Bunyan sets forth from Psalm cxxx. 7, what hope is and how it is distinguished from faith. Faith comes by hearing, hope by experience; faith lays hold of that end of the promise that is next to us, to wit, as it is in the Bible, hope lays hold of that end of the promise that is fastened to the mercy-seat: for the promise is like a mighty cable that is fastened by one end to a ship and by the other to the anchor. Thus faith and hope, getting hold of both ends of the promise they carry it safely all away.

(5) It will be remembered that Charles Doe tells us how, having heard of Bunyan's fame, and having read some of his books, during the persecution of 1685-6, he went for the first time to hear him at Mr. More's meeting, in a private house, and that his text was, "The fears of the wicked shall come upon him, but the desires of the righteous shall be granted." This sermon afterwards grew to more, and under the title "The Desires of the Righteous Granted," was found among Bunyan's MSS. and added to this volume Doe sent forth. After telling us who is the righteous man, he proceeds to speak of his desires.

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Even in him there are contardictory desires : How may I know to which my soul adheres ? Why thus—which wouldst thou have to prevail ? What thinkest thou of the grace thou seest in gracious souls who are near thee ? Dost thou not cry out, O, I bless them in my heart ! O, methinks grace is the greatest beauty in the world ! Yea, I could be content to live and die with those people that have the grace of God in their souls. A hundred times and a hundred, when I have been upon my knees before God, I have desired, were it the will of God, that I might be in their condition.

(6) "The Saint's Privilege and Profit" is a treatise on prayer, based upon the invitation in Hebrews iv. 16, to come boldly unto the throne of grace. Though not published till 1692, it was evidently written even before the work entitled "The Water of Life," which Bunyan published in 1688, for, on page 38 of the first edition of the latter, he says,—
"But because I have spoken of this more particularly upon that text ['Let us therefore come boldly to the throne of grace,' &c.] I shall therefore here say no more."

(7) The next of Bunyan's posthumous works, "Christ a Compleat Saviour," deals with a subject of which he never wearied, the power which Christ's intercession gives him to save to the uttermost. It is, says he—taking a leaf out of his own experience—struggling work to come to Christ. Evils within will rise and take this man and toss and tumble him like a ball in a large place, so that he is not master, of himself, of his thoughts, nor of his passions

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Strange, hideous, and amazing blasphemies will fix themselves upon him.

(8) "The Saints' Knowledge of Christ's Love" is an exposition of Paul's prayer for the Ephesians (iii. 18, 19) that they might be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge. This is a text, he says, made up of words *picked* and *packed* together by the wisdom of God, *picked* and *packed* together on purpose for the succour and relief of the tempted.

(9) Bunyan's work, entitled "The House of the Forest of Lebanon," is a somewhat fanciful, and not very appropriate analogy based upon 1 Kings vii. 2, which narrates that Solomon, after building the Temple and his own house, built also the house of the forest of Lebanon. He says that as the temple was a figure of the Church under the Gospel as she relateth to worship, so the house of the forest of Lebanon was a figure of the Church as she is assaulted for worship, as she is persecuted for the same. In other words, it is a type of the Church in the wilderness, or as she is in her sackcloth state. The comparison is not a very happy one, for the likelihood is that this structure was simply one of the range of palaces built at Jerusalem, and so called, either because it was built of Lebanon cedar or because it displayed a perfect thicket or *forest* of cedar pillars.

(10) The last of the works printed for the first time in the folio of 1692 was entitled, "Of Antichrist and his Ruine, and the Slaying of the Witnesses." Bunyan begins by showing that Anti-

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christ is the adversary of Christ; an adversary really, a friend pretendedly. Against him in *deed*, for him in *word*, and contrary to him in practice. *Antichrist* first made his appearance in the Church of God. Not that the Church of God did willingly admit him there to sit as such; he had *covered* his cloven foot; he had *plumbs* in his dragon's mouth, and so came in by flatteries. He evidently means by Antichrist the spirit of the priestly system, and gives a description of its crippled condition in his time, which would have to be modified considerably before it would suit ours.

Such were the ten books by Bunyan first given to the world in the folio of 1692, within four years of his death. There were still four other works of his unprinted: "A Pocket Concordance to the Scriptures," "A Christian Dialogue," "The Heavenly Footman," and the "Relation of his Imprisonment." The first two of these have never been printed, but "The Heavenly Footman" was published by Charles Doe in 1698, and the "Account of his Imprisonment" was given to the world in 1765. It is a matter for congratulation that this last, one of the most characteristic of his writings, and one of the most interesting in a biographical sense, was not altogether lost during the hundred years between its composition in Bedford gaol and its publication. It is probable that we are indebted to Samuel Palmer, the Editor of the *Nonconformist Memorial*, for its preservation. His family at that time lived in Bedford, his native town, where he was a frequent visitor during his ministry at Hackney, and this relation of Bunyan's

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imprisonment was published by James Buckland, at the Buck in Paternoster Row, who was also Palmer's publisher. The MS. of this little book had probably remained in the possession of Hannah Bunyan, and was only printed four years before her death. That it was printed at all and not lost, considering the long period it remained in MS., will be felt to be a fortunate circumstance by all who remember that it contains the account of Bunyan's arrest at Harlington, of his trial before Kelynge, and of the memorable interview between his wife and Sir Matthew Hale.

"The Heavenly Footman" had been in the possession of Charles Doe, in MS., for six years before he gave it to the public in 1698. He was still hoping to send out a second folio volume containing Bunyan's already published writings, to which this might have been added. But publishers' rights still barred the way, and at length he sent forth this little work separately. Three copies of the first edition are in existence, one of which is in the possession of the trustees of Bunyan Meeting. The title is as follows: "The Heavenly Footman; or, a Description of the Man that gets to Heaven, together with the way he runs in, the marks he goes by. Also, some Directions how to Run so as to Obtain. Briefly Observed and Published by John Bunyan. London: printed for Charles Doe, Comb-maker, in the Borough, Southwark, near London Bridge. 1698." To the book itself Doe added a Catalogue of all Bunyan's writings, with the dates of their publication.

In the first collected edition, that of the folio of 1692, there were published twenty of Bunyan's

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works, ten of the twenty being then printed for the first time. The intervention of publisher's rights, as we have said, prevented this edition going on to a second volume, and it was not till 1736 that Doe's original idea was able to be carried out. In that year there appeared an edition in two volumes folio, edited by Samuel Wilson, of the Barbican, the grandson of that John Wilson who was Bunyan's friend. This new edition was published by subscription, and contained, in addition to the twenty works of the first folio, twenty-seven others which had been previously published in separate form. In 1767 there appeared a third edition of the Collected Works in two volumes folio, with a preface by George Whitefield—this edition containing three works of Bunyan not included in previous collections, though previously published. Other collected editions have been issued—one in six volumes octavo, published in 1780 by Alexander Hogg; one in 1853, which was revised in 1862, under the editorship of Mr. G. Offor, in three volumes imperial octavo; and one in four volumes imperial octavo, edited in 1859 by the Rev. Henry Stebbing, F.R.S. Mr. Offor gave himself as enthusiastically to the work of editing this his favourite author as did Charles Doe before him, and as possessing greater advantages with more complete success.

The writings of Bunyan which we have sought all the way through to connect chronologically with his life are all that can with certainty be declared to be genuine. Other works, however, have appeared under his name to which passing reference may be

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made. Immediately after his death—for it was endorsed as “Licensed September 10th, 1688”—there appeared a pamphlet of six or eight small octavo pages, entitled “Mr. John Bunyan’s Dying Sayings,” the history of which is a little uncertain. These sayings consist of a series of pious utterances arranged under ten heads—such as Sin, Affliction, Prayer, the Love of the World, and the like. They are most of them such things as Bunyan might have spoken in his sermons, but it is difficult to think of him as saying some of them on his deathbed.

In 1688, immediately after his death, and with a black border round the title, there appeared a second edition of “The Barren Fig-tree,” the title saying, “To which is added his Exhortation to Peace and Unity.” This exhortation follows on upon “The Barren Fig-tree” with continuous registration, and with a half-title without any author’s name, the two works being reprinted together in the same form in 1692. There is a pretty strong consensus of opinion against accepting this “Exhortation to Peace and Unity” as genuine. Charles Doe makes no mention of it in either of his catalogues; and though it was included in the collected edition of 1736, subsequent editions include it only under protest.

The same year in which this work appeared, there appeared also “The Saints’ Triumph; or, the Glory of the Saints with Jesus Christ. Describing the Joys and Comforts a Believer reaps in Heaven, after his painful Pilgrimage and Sufferings on Earth. By J. B.” Beyond these initials, Bunyan’s name was not given, but his portrait was on the title. This ingenious way

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of suggesting without actually affirming authorship was a piece of trade smartness on the part of that publisher of somewhat shady reputation, Joseph Blare, of the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, the publisher who sent forth the "Scriptural Poems" as Bunyan's, and who issued also a Latinised edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress," from which his name was withdrawn.

Two other works by other authors have been assigned to Bunyan, the writers themselves being perfectly innocent of any attempt to deceive. George Larkin, like some other eminent publishers, turning author as well as publisher, wrote a book entitled "The World to Come; the Glories of Heaven and the Terrors of Hell lively displayed under the similitude of a Vision; by G. L. London, 1711." Fourteen years later Edward Midwinter, who had succeeded Blare in the publishing business of the Looking Glass, and also apparently in his doubtful way of carrying on the business, published an exact reprint of this book of Larkin's under the altered title: "The Visions of John Bunyan; being his last remains; recommended by him as necessary to be had in all families." John Dunton, the well-known bookseller, was in no manner of doubt that his friend George Larkin, the son of the first publisher of that name, and whom he says he had known for twenty years, was the real author of the book.

The story of the other work ascribed to Bunyan, but not really by him, is as follows. In 1690, James Bardwood, the ejected minister of Dartmouth, published a little book entitled, "Heart's Ease in Heart's

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Trouble: by J. B., a servant of Christ." The title was taking and somewhat after Bunyan's manner, and in 1762, some enterprising publisher, putting a new construction on the initials, sent forth the book with the same preface, signed, "Thy humble servant, John Bunyan," instead of "J. B.," as Bardwood left it. The original date, March 1690, however, remained unchanged, and Bunyan was thus made to sign a preface a year and a half after he had been laid in his grave.

Later still in the same century two other publishers, this time in Scotland, ventured to trade upon Bunyan's reputation among the common people. In 1731 there was published in Edinburgh, and a generation later in Glasgow, a work bearing the title, "Rest for a Wearied Soul," being the last legacy of Mr. John Bunyan of Bedfordshire." The book, as we might expect, is a feeble production, made up of pious platitudes. In 1737 also there was published in Edinburgh a pamphlet entitled "The Riches of Christ; or, the glorious treasure of Heavenly Joys. With a devout Prayer. By J. Bunyan."

But leaving now all these spurious ventures, and returning for a moment to the genuine and general writings of this seventeenth-century author, it may be worth while to point out, as we have previously done in the case of the "Pilgrim's Progress," a few of the antiquarian references, unusual or obsolete words, and proverbial or popular expressions they contain. Bunyan speaks of people dying quietly "like unto chrisom-children," that is, like unto children who, dying within the month after their

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baptism, were shrouded in the white cloth, the chrisom put on the head at baptism, and who were supposed to die in special innocency and peace. In the "Holy War" he speaks of the angels "riding reformades" when Emmanuel came to deliver Mansoul, that is, coming with him from personal interest, in a voluntary rather than an official capacity. He speaks of doing a thing "without indenting," that is, without making a bargain, of "bating God an ace," of being "one of God's white-boys" or specially beloved ones; of "trencher-chaplains," of "hedge-creepers," in the sense of foot-pads, and of "sensitives," meaning thereby animals acting from instinct rather than reason.

We have such expressions as "to learn me"; "while of late," meaning till of late; "most an end," that is, continually; "it principles us," "to be principled so to do"; "to grammar and settle the common people"; "they mattered no words," that is, paid no attention; "more groundedly," that is, with better foundation; "he told his tale the rightest"; "he betakes himself to house"; "he got a haunt," that is, was marked by the habit.

Scattered here and there are proverbial expressions like these: "as familiar as the boy with the bird"; "to turn and twist like an eel on an angle"; "as poor as howlets"; "they brought their noble to ninepence"; "a snowball loses nothing by rolling"; "as white as a clout"; "to keep at stave's end"; "thou standest upon thy points and pantables"; "a tongue tipt with talk and tattle"; "to grow lean and look like an anatomy." We have also such

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unusual words as overly for slightly, glavering, gravelled, to famble, that is, to falter; to daff for to doff, to slagar for to slacken; to scrabble, bickermment, malapertness, dotterel, frusturate, blandation, achare for ajar, gleads, and a gload for bright rays; a flam or fable; spaked, in the sense of defective, me-hap-soes, thodes, that is, gusts, or blasts of wind, and runagates.

Mingling as Bunyan did all his life with the common people, he abounds in such expressions as these: to flatter and cogg, to tick and toy, to shuck and cringe, to shuck and shrink, to winch and shuck, he glavers and flatters, butted and bounded, streaks and smirches, frampered Christians, squabbling frumps and taunts, childish talk and frumpered carriages. We have such expressions as: "to talk too much at rovers," "to run headlong upon a bravado," "to lie in a lazy manner at to-elbow," to be "snaffled under guilt and terror," "to lie grabbing under black thoughts," "to perk it and lord it," "to punctilio," "to make orts," that is, refuse, "to pole and peel and rob."

As a writer of nervous and forcible English of the kind that carries with it the warm glow of the prevailing Saxon element, few have equalled the untrained man whose works we have been considering, his power being native and inherent rather than acquired. The very earliest product of his pen, the book entitled "Some Gospel Truths Opened," which appeared in 1656, and only a few months after he had commenced preaching, was a remarkable production for a working man, whose schooling was a

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far-off memory, and who was occupied all the week at the handicraft of a tinker. There is an ease of style and a directness of speech, together with logical arrangement and coherence such as we should not have looked for in one so untrained and unpractised as he. In his later works there are signs of growth, of course, but this first book of his, thrown off at a heat, will bear favourable comparison with most of them as to clearness and force. There are in it no affectations of style, there is no aiming at mere fine writing, that bane of beginners. He speaks because he has something he much wishes to say, and he says it in the most direct way he can.

As to the intellectual value of the general writings of Bunyan little need be added to what has been already said upon each work in detail. The secret of his success is not that he was a great theologian profoundly striking to the heart of spiritual truth, and showing it in new relations to meet the needs of the new time. To be a pioneer to unexplored realms of truth was not his function, as indeed it is the function of but few in any generation. The mental difficulties of many men would begin at the point where Bunyan left off. Accepting implicitly the Puritan system of religious thought as he found it, he neither questions nor hesitates. A verse from any part of Scripture has for him equal and decisive authority, settling problems the most complex and profound. To say this is only to say that he was the child of the seventeenth century rather than of the twentieth. His service to humanity was, therefore, not that of massively grouping great truths into systematic form

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and opening the way to new realms of light. What he did, and did powerfully, was to make vital with the warm life-blood of his own strong heart truths and systems already in existence around him. With the wealth of his own opulent imagination he places these in vivid and striking light, and in such fervid shape that at once they lay hold of the popular mind and heart. Beautiful images, vivid expressions, forcible arguments all aglow with passion, tender pleadings, solemn warnings, these, all through his writings as through his preaching, make those to whom he speaks all eye, all ear, all soul. To use a phrase which has come to have an equivocal significance, he was a popular preacher and writer, but only in a high and noble sense. He never panders to the mere love of excitement and novelty. His errand is much too serious, and men's need and peril much too urgent, for him to waste time and power in merely playing before them on a pleasant instrument. He would beseech them with tears, as Paul did, and like him, too, speak with authority as a messenger from heaven. To him the burning pit was a reality, from which he had himself barely escaped, and heaven a substantial verity he could all but see. The master passion of his soul was love to that redeeming Son of God to whom he felt he owed everything, and whose glory it was the joy of his life to unfold to his fellows. These are the special characteristics of the writings of this great Nonconformist preacher, and they are an adequate explanation of the firm hold he has secured upon the hearts of the people to whom he spoke and wrote.

XIX

EDITIONS, VERSIONS, ILLUSTRATIONS, AND IMITATIONS OF THE "PILGRIM'S PROGRESS"

THE story of the first creation of the "Pilgrim's Progress" has been told already, the story of its after-circulation is not unworthy to be told also. A book by an English writer, which has been sold by hundreds of thousands in this country, in the British Colonies and in the United States of America; which has been translated into nearly a hundred languages and dialects of other countries; and which after two centuries is still continually re-appearing in new forms and translations, is, leaving the Bible out of account, a fact unique in literature.

When Southey sent forth a new edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress" in 1830, he mentions that at that time there was no copy of the first edition of the First Part known to be in existence, that there was a second edition in the British Museum, but that the earliest besides which his publishers had been able to obtain for him, either by means of diligent inquiries or the kindness of friends, was the eighth edition of

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1682. Since then five copies of the first edition have come to light, there are also four copies of the second edition and three of the third. Besides these three editions which show the book in its three stages of growth, there are existing copies of all the editions down to our own times, except the seventh and the seventeenth. So that there are sufficient materials for a complete bibliography of the subject.

Of the five copies of the first edition of the First Part of the "Pilgrim's Progress," the one which came first to light, that in the possession of Captain George Lindsay Holford, of Tetbury, Gloucestershire, is still the most interesting, inasmuch as it is in perfect preservation, and is in the original sheep-leather binding, the sections also being sewn round strips of leather instead of cord. It was purchased several years ago with the rest of the books in Lord Vernon's library, where it had apparently lain undisturbed since its first publication. A second copy is in the Lenox Library, Central Park, New York, having been purchased by the late Mr. Lenox from Mr. Pickering the publisher. A third copy was the property of Mr. Elliot Stock, by whom it was purchased from Mr. Coombs, bookseller, Worcester, who acquired it with some miscellaneous purchases. It is now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. The fourth copy was purchased for the British Museum in 1884 from the Rev. Ernest S. Thies, Wesleyan minister. It had been for many years in the possession of his brother-in-law, Mr. Thorne, of Dalston, to whom it came through a kinsman who was a book-collector. The fifth copy was brought to light, in February

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1886, through the publication of the first edition of this work. It was the property of Mr. Nash, of Langley, Slough, and is in perfect condition. It appears to have been rebound in calf in the early part of last century, and is unique among these five copies of the first edition, in that it has for a frontispiece White's sleeping portrait of Bunyan. This may, however, have been added when the book was rebound. After Mr. Nash's death this copy was sold at Sotheby's in 1901 for £1475! It passed from the purchaser after the sale to Dodd, Mead & Co., Fifth Avenue, New York, and is now owned by a private collector. There are copies of the second and third editions in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Lennox Libraries, and of the second edition only in the University Library, Cambridge, in Regent's Park College Library, and in the John Rylands Library. Of the first edition of the Second Part of the work there are only two copies known, one being in the Lenox Library, the other in the John Rylands Library.

After the three editions of the First Part, when, having received the additions of *Worldly Wiseman* and *By-ends*, the book was practically complete, there were only a few unimportant subsequent additions, consisting of Scripture passages and marginal references. The interest of succeeding editions lies therefore mainly in the question of illustrations, and for a century there was in this country nothing in this way really artistic. An ideally perfect "*Pilgrim's Progress*" would have been the *Pilgrim story* by Bunyan with illustrations

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by Albrecht Dürer or Hans Holbein. But this was, of course, impossible, and with the exception of White's sleeping portrait the earliest engravings to the work were of the rudest possible kind. The first and second editions had no illustrations whatever; the third and fourth (1680) had only the sleeping portrait as a frontispiece; the fifth (1680) had an inferior copy of the portrait and one rude engraving (p. 128) of the martyrdom of Faithful, with these lines, evidently from Bunyan's pen, underneath:

Brave *Faithful*, bravely done in word and deed:
Judge, witnesses, and jury, have instead
Of overcoming thee, but shown their rage.
When they are dead, thou'lt live from age to age.

On the verso of the frontispiece portrait was the following: "Advertisement: The 'Pilgrim's Progress' having found good Acceptation among the People, to the carrying of the Fourth Impression, which had many Additions, more than any preceding: And the Publisher observing that many Persons desired to have it illustrated with Pictures hath endeavoured to gratifie them therein: And besides those that are ordinarily Printed to the Fifth Impression [*i.e.*, portrait and burning of Faithful] hath provided Thirteen Copper Cuts curiously Engraven for such as desire them." These cuts were charged a shilling extra, and were sold either separately or with the book. This probably accounts for the fact that there were two fifth and two sixth editions. No specimens of these copperplate engravings have been preserved, unless they are the illustrations found in the fifth edition of 1682 in the

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Lenox Library ; but reproduced on wood they were probably those added to the eleventh and twelfth editions.

The sixth edition (1681) had a better engraved portrait than the fifth and also the same wood engraving of the burning of Faithful. Of the seventh we know nothing, but the eighth (1682), the ninth (1684) had the same illustrations as before, with two additional, one a rude engraving of Giant Despair, the other a better one representing the pilgrims soaring through the clouds after crossing the river. In the tenth edition (1685) Giant Despair had disappeared, but the other two remain.

It was in the eleventh edition of 1688, the last which came out in Bunyan's lifetime, and the last directly published by Nathaniel Ponder,* that the greatest changes were made in the matter of illustration. This, as well as the twelfth edition of 1689, contained, in addition to the three engravings of the tenth edition, twelve others, viz. : (1) Christian meeting with Evangelist ; (2) Christian and Worldly Wiseman ; (3) At the Wicket-gate ; (4) The Burden falling off ; (5) In the Arbour ; (6) Passing the

* The 12th edition is described as printed for Robert Ponder, and sold by the booksellers of London, 1689; the 13th edition as printed for Robert Ponder, and are to be sold by Nich. Boddington at the Golden Ball in Duck Lane, 1693. With the 14th edition Nathaniel Ponder reappears. It is described as printed for W. P., and are to be sold by Nat. Ponder in London-House Yard, near the west end of St. Paul's, 1695. So that he is no longer at the Peacock in the Poultry; and this is the last time we find his name on the title-page of the "Pilgrim."

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Lions; (7) Descending into the Valley of Humiliation; (8) The Fight with Apollyon; (9) The Valley of the Shadow of Death; (10) Faithful on his trial; (11) The Pilgrims and the Shepherds; (12) The Pilgrims soaring through the Clouds.

Subsequent changes were made, to a right understanding of which we must now cross over to Amsterdam and see what was taking place there. In 1682 the "Pilgrim's Progress" was translated into Dutch and published by Joannes Boekholt in a well-printed edition bound in vellum.* It had a copper-plate frontispiece of Christian at the Wicket-gate, and also eleven small copper-plate engravings ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 2 in.) printed on the same pages as the letterpress, but, of course, by a separate impression. These plates seem not to have been used again, but in 1685 Boekholt published a superior edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress" in Flemish French for the Walloons.† The ordinance of State authorising its publication is prefixed, is in Dutch, and signed by Gasp. Farel, May 16, 1684. The work was beautifully printed, but its special interest to us just now lies in the fact that it was illustrated by nine copper-plate engravings by the eminent Dutch engraver, Jan Luiken, which have not only been continued in

* "Eens Christens Reyse na de Eeuwigheyt." In't Engels beschreven door Mr. Joannes Bunjan: Leeraar in Bedford. T'Amsterdam: Joannes Boekholt. 1682.

† "Voyage d'un Chrestien vers l'Eternité." Ecrit en Anglois, par Monsieur Bunjan, F. M. en Bedtfort, et nouvellement traduit en Francois. Avec Figures. Amsterdam, Chez Jean Boekholt, 1685. Avec Privilegie.

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the various Dutch editions down to our own time, but seven out of the nine were reproduced after a rude fashion and added to the English editions also. At first only one of these was imported, being introduced in the thirteenth edition, but the process went forward, and in the fourteenth (1695) all but two of Jan Luiken's engravings were added. So that from this time seven English and seven Dutch engravings appeared together in all the small editions down to about 1780. Jan Luiken's originals were admirably executed; but the English copies became ruder and coarser by repetition till they were at last almost illegible.

The editions of which we have been speaking were those duly authorised; but besides these there were numerous pirated editions about which, as early as 1680, Nathaniel Ponder complained bitterly. In the fourth edition of that year there is the following: "Advertisement from the Bookseller. The *Pilgrim's Progress*, having sold several Impressions, and with good Acceptation among the People (there are some malicious men of our profession, of lewd principles, hating honesty, and coveting other men's rights, and which we call *Land Pirates*, one of this society is *Thomas Bradyl* a Printer, who I found Actually printing my Book for himself, and five more of his Confederates)." * One of these pirated editions is before me as I write, and both in type and paper

* Over against this testimony by Ponder it is only fair to place that by John Dunton the bookseller, who says: "Mr. Braddyll a firstrate printer. He is religiously true to his word and faithful to the booksellers that employ him. But

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is greatly inferior to those issued by Ponder himself, though it boldly bears his name on the title-page, claims to be licensed, and to be the fifth edition of 1682. Doe tells us that 100,000 copies of the "Pilgrim's Progress" were sold in Bunyan's lifetime, a remarkable fact in an age when the buyers and readers of books were relatively few. As time went on editions multiplied to meet the popular demand, and as they multiplied, the get-up of the book deteriorated, till at last, as Grainger tell us, it was often printed on tobacco paper, and the illustrations became coarser and more smirchy. There were editions published even by respectable houses like Caddel and Dodsley (1783), John Rivington and Sons (1786), and Osborne and Griffin (1787), having illustrations such as we usually associate only with the name and fame of James Catnach of the Seven Dials. There was an edition also with dreadful woodcuts issued in octavo form in 1768 by D. Bunyan of Fleet Street, who may have been remotely a kinsman of the author—as may also have been that "J. Bunyan above the Monument" who published an edition of the "Heavenly Footman" in 1777.

But though inferior copies like these continued to be produced till the end of the eighteenth century, editions of a more ambitious character began to be sent forth as early as 1728. In that year there appeared in octavo form and on good paper "the

Mr. Braddyll has met with back enemies. I dealt with him for many years, and have not only found him just, but well accomplished as a printer."—"Life and Errors of John Dunton." London, 1818.

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two-and-twentieth edition, adorned with twenty-two copper-plates engraven by J. Sturt." It was published by J. Clarke, who had succeeded Nicholas Boddington at the "Golden Ball" in Duck Lane, and in the preface it was stated that being unable to read the poor print of the copies of the "Pilgrim's Progress" usually sold, "some persons of distinction and piety," in order to remedy that inconvenience, had "proposed that it might be sent into the world in the handsome manner it now appears." The writer of this preface goes on to say that after the great care taken in the printing and engraving "it is not in the least doubted but the whole will give such entire satisfaction to the public in general, as well as to those worthy gentlemen in particular who have so handsomely and generously contributed to this beautiful edition, by their large subscriptions, as will fully answer their expectation." The belief thus expressed seems not to have been in vain. In the preface to his folio edition of Bunyan's Works in 1736-7 Samuel Wilson says: "Nor was it a little pleasing to me to see the encouragement which the polite part of mankind lately gave to the new Cloathing of his Pilgrim, a book which has been translated almost into every language." Six of these new and larger engravings by Sturt were largely indebted in their conception to the Dutch pictures of 1685. The last engraving to the First Part, for example, gives the forms of Christian and Hopeful crossing the river, angels waiting for them on the farther shore, as in Jan Luiken's engraving, only that the pilgrims are crossing from left to right

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instead of from right to left, and again, as in the earlier English editions, there is the old verse underneath about their riding through the clouds on chariots. These engravings, while superior to those previously published in this country, were inferior to the Dutch originals, being some of them badly drawn and grotesque in conception. In one case, for instance, Christian is represented as clothed in figured flowing dressing-gown and in slippers, and as running up the Hill Difficulty at a pace which indicated considerable athletic power on his part and must have considerably astonished the beholders. This edition of 1728 was frequently repeated down to 1800, and the engravings printed together, four on a page, were inserted in the folio editions of 1736-7 and 1767.

In the collected edition of Bunyan's Works published by Alex. Hogg (1780) the "Pilgrim's Progress" with the "Holy War" formed the seventh volume. The whole series was illustrated by plates more or less related to the subject, and the editor stated that as the copper-plates to the old editions had been more a disgrace than an embellishment, he had in this edition employed the most able and renowned artists in the kingdom, so that the illustrations might justly correspond with the dignity and elegance of the works they were intended to embellish. Those to the "Pilgrim's Progress" are thirteen in number, and are of no special merit. They were chiefly drawn and engraved by G. Burder, and are inferior to those given with the "Holy War," which were drawn by Hamilton and engraved

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by Grainger, Walker, Goldar and Thornton, and are marked by considerable softness and depth.

In 1786 a few engravings of higher quality were published with Harrison's edition of that year, and in 1792 a series of illustrations of the "Pilgrim's Progress" was issued by C. Sheppard of Doctors' Commons. In 1794 also he sent out a new and larger series in oblong quarto, to be sold separately from the text of the book. These engravings are destitute of the least vestige of imaginative power, are intensely realistic, and to the last degree marked by the matter-of-fact spirit so characteristic of the eighteenth century. The sketch of Vanity Fair, for instance, might be a London scene from one of Hogarth's pictures; and in the illustration of Doubting Castle the very coat, small-clothes, and shoe-buckles of Giant Despair are in the prevailing mode of the days of George III.

This time of deepest bathos, of the apparent extinction of all imagination, was yet, strange to say, the birth-hour also of the new period of higher artistic life, and saw the production of a series of illustrations to the "Pilgrim's Progress" which have never yet been surpassed. In 1788 Mr. Thane of the Haymarket published sixteen designs by Thomas Stothard, R.A., which were engraved in his best style by the antiquarian artist Joseph Strutt during his residence in Hertfordshire. To those who have seen these engravings it is needless to say that they are all marked by fine artistic feeling, and that some of them, that representing the Three Shining Ones by the Cross, for example, are characterised by ex-

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quisite softness and grace. They were originally issued separately from the book, but in 1792 were repeated in an edition published by Matthews of the Strand, to which were appended "Notes by a Bachelor of Arts of the University of Oxford." [J. Bradford.] Reduced in size and re-engraved by Stocks, Goodall, R. Graves, Engleheart and others, they were reissued in 1839, with descriptive sonnets by the Rev. George Townsend, Prebendary of Durham, and again the same year as illustrations to an edition of the text in octavo. In 1857 also they were given with an edition published by Henry G. Bohn, and more recently still were reproduced in Autotype by Messrs. Bickers and Son, in connection with a handsome edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress" published by them in 1881.

The edition of Bunyan's Allegory with Stothard's illustrations in their original form, issued in 1792, was followed in 1796 by the well-known edition of T. Heptinstall of Fleet Street. This came out in large octavo and was illustrated by eight new engravings, three of them by Stothard, the remaining five by Woolley and Corbould, the whole being engraved by Neagle, Springsguth, Collier, Saunders, and Rothwell. The same year there were four engravings issued with the "Pilgrim's Progress" forming part of Cooke's Pocket Edition of "Sacred Classics." These engravings were of high merit and specially pleasing.

Between the appearance of Heptinstall's edition in 1796 and that edited by Southey for Murray and Major in 1830, there were some twenty octavo editions published in England, besides numerous

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others in smaller forms. Most of these were well printed, and we may single out for special mention the editions with the admirable illustrations by Isaac Taylor (1805), by the celebrated Thomas Bewick, after Thurston (1806), by L. Clennell, one of Bewick's pupils (1811), and by R. Westall, R.A. (1820). These, with the editions printed by Henry Fisher at the Caxton Press (1824), by George Virtue of Ivy Lane (1830?), and the one with an interesting and able Introductory Essay on the "Genius of Bunyan," by James Montgomery of Sheffield, all show that valuable copies of the "Pilgrim's Progress" were steadily in demand.

The edition of 1830 by the poet Southey may be said to begin the more modern series reaching down to our own time. It was described by Macaulay in that same year as "an eminently beautiful and splendid edition of a book which well deserves all that the printer and the engraver can do for it."* The work was illustrated with wood engravings by Heath, and two steel engravings by John Martin, representing the Valley of the Shadow of Death and the Celestial City. The latter are marked by Martin's peculiar genius, but are certainly open to the damaging criticism brought by Macaulay against his pictures generally, that "those things which are mere accessories in the descriptions become the principal objects in the pictures; and those figures which are most prominent in the descriptions can be detected in the pictures only by a very close scrutiny."

* Macaulay's "Essays," i. 132.

The seventy-two years which have elapsed since the appearance of this edition by Southey have, judging by the number and character of the editions by which it has been followed, been marked by a steady increase rather than by any diminution of interest in Bunyan's *Dream*. The best are the editions published by Fisher and illustrated by J. M. W. Turner, R.A., G. Cruikshank, and others: that edited by Godwin and Pocock, in oblong folio and illustrated by the prize drawings in outline of the Art Union, executed by H. C. Selous; the one edited by George Offor for the Hanserd Knollys Society; that published by W. Pickering and printed at the Chiswick Press (1849); the two editions issued the same year, the one illustrated by William Harvey, the other by David Scott, R.S.A.; the edition published by Bagster in 1845 and illustrated by his daughter with 270 small engravings, some of which are of great merit; those with the illustrations of Sir John Gilbert, engraved by J. W. Whymper; that with 100 illustrations by Thomas Dalziel, and the one with the coloured plates of H. C. Selous and the wood-engravings of Selous, Priolo, and Friston. An excellent edition was published by Macmillan and Co. in 1862, which was adorned with a charming vignette by W. Holman Hunt, engraved by Jeens. An edition with the "Grace Abounding" appended to it, carefully edited for the *Clarendon Press* by Canon Venables, was published in 1879; another called the "Elstow Edition," has outline drawings by Gunston and others, and is bound in oak-boards taken from the old timber of Elstow Church at the

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time the church was restored. There are also some spirited drawings by Gordon Browne in an edition published by Sampson Low and Co. in 1883.

But while there is this embarrassment of riches in really attractive editions of the "Pilgrim's Progress" issued in recent years, none of these just referred to attain to the rank of the four now to be mentioned. These are, the one illustrated by C. H. Bennett, and prefaced by Charles Kingsley, that with 110 designs by J. D. Watson, engraved by the Brothers Dalziel, the "Edition de Luxe" published by Strahan and Co. in 1880, and the one illustrated by the admirable etchings of William Strang and published by J. C. Nimmo in 1895. The illustrations by Charles H. Bennett strike out a new line, and are simply sketches of heads as descriptive of character instead of the usual scenes and groupings. The kind, strong face of the Interpreter and the womanly grace of Discretion are strikingly rendered; several of the others also are marked by great power and insight into character. The delineations by J. D. Watson are in that eminent artist's best manner, and make the edition which has had the advantage of his pencil one of the most attractive yet issued. The "Edition de Luxe," with one hundred illustrations by Frederick Barnard, Sir J. D. Linton, and others is a most princely looking copy of the Tinker's Dream. It is printed on special Hand-made Paper, the Proofs of Illustrations are on Japanese Paper, and though, of course, of varied merit, present some unusually good examples of artistic power. The representations of Great Heart, Valiant for Truth,

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and Old Honest, from the pencil of Sir J. D. Linton, are among the finest things we have. Of this edition there were 500 copies printed, 200 of which were taken by the United States.

Besides these editions, separate illustrations of the "Pilgrim's Progress" were issued by F. J. Sheilds and Claude Reignier Conder, the former being of very considerable merit. It may be mentioned also that George Cruikshank left behind him at his death a series of new illustrations to the "Pilgrim's Progress," drawn on wood, ready for the engraver.

Another edition worthy of mention is the Facsimile Copy of the First Edition of 1678, published by Mr. Elliot Stock. In this the First and Second Parts were originally printed together, but subsequently a more literal fac-simile of the first edition was issued, a copy of which may now be had for a shilling.

The cheap editions of the entire "Pilgrim's Progress" issued of recent years have been simply numberless. In 1855 it formed the 330th volume of the Tauchnitz series published at Leipsic. Both the Religious Tract Society and the Book Society have for many years sent forth the work in large and small type, and in various attractive forms within the reach of all. The Tract Society, especially, has rendered service it is impossible to over-estimate, not only in issuing these English editions, but in co-operating with missionaries and others in the production of very many of the foreign versions. In some cases they have undertaken the entire publication; in others they have furnished paper and plates. Other

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publishers also have helped to swell the stream of popular supply. A paper edition in quarto, with 100 illustrations by Thomas Dalziel, is sold by Ward, Lock, and Co. for sixpence. Editions also have for years been published at a penny and two-pence, and the Book Society has recently sent forth one, clearly printed on good paper and unabridged, which is a perfect marvel for a penny.

Passing from our own country it may now be mentioned that in less than three years after its first appearance the "Pilgrim's Progress" was reprinted by the Puritan colony across the Atlantic. On the issue of the Second Part, in 1684, Bunyan could say of the First :

" 'Tis in *New England* under such advance,
Receives there so much loving Countenance,
As to be Trim'd, new-Cloth'd, and deck't with Gems,
That it may show its Features, and its Limbs,
Yet more ; so comely doth my *Pilgrim* walk
That of him thousands daily sing and talk."

A copy of this first American edition was formerly in the possession of the late George Brinley of Hartford, Connecticut, and according to Mr. Henry Stevens the imprint ran thus: "Boston in New England | Printed by Samuel Green upon As | signment of Samuel Sewall and | are to be sold by John Vsher | of Boston 1681.* | It was hoped that this interesting copy would have been found among Mr. Brinley's books after his death. His collection

* "Contributions to a Catalogue of the Lenox Library." No. IV. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, &c. New York Printed for the Trustees. 1879.

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was left in the care of Dr. Trumball, Librarian of the Watkinson Library, Hartford, and I happened, during a visit to America, to call upon that gentleman, in May 1882, just after he had completed his search for this first edition, only to find him sorrowfully regretting that it was nowhere to be found. Subsequent American editions in the Lenox Library were printed at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Battleborough, Vt.; and Cleveland, Ohio. In 1898 an edition in folio, with 120 illustrations of a bold and striking character by the Brothers Rhead, and with an Introduction by the Rev. H. R. Haweis, was issued by the Century Co., New York. It is not possible, however, in the case of the United States, any more than in that of England, to compute with any approach to accuracy the untold multitude of editions of a book which, along with that of Shakespeare, forms the strongest link in the literary bond binding that country to ours. Everywhere through the States, Bunyan's name is found as a household word and his Dream among the household treasures.

We come next to the interesting question of the many *Foreign Versions* of the "Pilgrim's Progress" that have appeared. The book had, as we know, begun to be translated as early as 1685. With pardonable pride Bunyan himself said in 1684 :

"In France and Flanders, where men kill each other,
My 'Pilgrim' is esteemed a Friend, a Brother.
In Holland, too, 'tis said, as I'm told,
My 'Pilgrim' is with some, worth more than gold."

The Dutch translation mentioned last, and already

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referred to, was probably the first of the foreign versions in order of appearance, being published, as has been said, by Johannes Boekholt, of Amsterdam, in 1682. The book seems to have been early and for long a favourite with the people of Holland. Numerous editions have appeared both at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Gröningen, Utrecht, Deventer, Arnhem, and the Hague, and continue still to be sent forth.

The French version, prepared by Boekholt for the Walloons in 1685, is thought to have been the first sent forth in that language. Bunyan, however, as early as 1684, speaks of his "Pilgrim" as being already in France; if so, no copy of that earlier edition remains to us. A new French translation, made direct from the English and beautifully printed, was published at Rotterdam, in 1728, and described as the Third Edition. The reason the writer in his preface gives for this new version is, that Boekholt's was inferior as being in the Walloon *patois*. At the end, there were printed seven "Cantiques" for various seasons, by B. Pictet, Pastor and Professor at Geneva. A separate French edition was also published at Toulouse, in 1708; "Avec approbation et permission," the permission being signed by the Marquis de Villeron and by Monseigneur Dumirail. A copy of this edition, purchased in the shop of G. Klostermann, St. Petersburg, is in the library of the Religious Tract Society, with this inscription on the cover: "This book was picked up by Lord Tyrconnel (who was at the time on a political mission to Russia) on the field of battle, after the Battle of

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Borodino." Yet another French edition, published at Tours in 1852, is inscribed with the approbation of "Genet, docteur de la maison et Société de Sorbonne," which is dated, Paris, 16 Juillet, 1772, and in which it is said: "Cet ouvrage est orthodoxe, et animé de l'esprit Evangélique." Bunyan's book thus endorsed by a doctor of the Sorbonne, with Giant Pope left out and prayers bound up at the end (with continuous pagination) to be said before the Holy Mass, together with Anthems to the Holy Virgin, would have astonished the Protestant soul of the Bedfordshire Tinker, could he have seen it. Another French edition was also published at Epernay, Lyons, and Paris, by the Society of St. Victor, in 1847, having the approbation of the Bishop of Chalons, who says that he has examined the book, and thinks it will offer to all "une lecture agréable et utile." Yet other French issues have been published at Paris, Rouen, Valence, Plancy, and Basle.

The German version of the "Pilgrim's Progress" was first translated, not from the English, but from the Dutch. Dr. F. H. Ranke tells us that as a young man at Nürnberg, he first met with a German copy on a stall where old Christian writings were offered for sale along with old iron, and just as cheaply. It was a translation of 1703, from Dutch into German, and though the language was so antiquated that he had at times almost to guess the meaning, yet, as he says, the Dream made such an impression on his mind, that in after years he formed classes of young men for the study of the book, and also, in 1832, issued a new edition himself in an abridged form.

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Many other German editions followed that first rude translation of 1703, and the book worked itself into the German mind. Dr. Gustav Kettner suggests that in two of Schiller's poems, "Der Pilgrim" and "Die Sehnsucht," Bunyan's influence is distinctly traceable. The first of these especially stands, he thinks, among the rest of Schiller's works as a strangeling, expressing not in name only, but in conception and longing the idea of Bunyan's Dream. The book was, we know, early received into the pietistic circles of Germany. Jung-Stilling, in his "Schlüssel zum Heimweh," in which he has attempted a broad, artistic, but unimpassioned imitation of Bunyan's work, tells us how, in 1748, when in his eighth year, he had read with inexpressible pleasure the "Pilgrim's Progress." Other German minds also, were greatly influenced by it. Crabb Robinson tells us that when dining with the Grand Duchess at Weimar, in 1805, he there met with the poet Wieland, who was born earlier in the eighteenth century than Schiller. Wieland was very communicative; he spoke of English literature, to which he confessed great obligations, and when Robinson mentioned that the first book he recollected having read was the "Pilgrim's Progress," "That delights me," said Wieland, "for in that book I learned to read English. English literature had a great influence on me, and your Puritan writings particularly." It is not improbable, therefore, that Schiller, who as a boy at Ludwigsberg and later, read many pietistic works, may have met with Bunyan's "Dream," and that Dr. Kettner is right in thinking he sees traces of

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its influence in the Pilgrim thought and ideal longing expressed in "Der Pilgrim" and "Die Sehnsucht."

These three in the Dutch, French, and German languages were the earliest versions, though not the only ones. Though subsequently lost, it would seem as if, even in Bunyan's lifetime, there were versions also in Gaelic and native Irish. After speaking of those in use in France, Flanders, and Holland, he says :

" Highlanders and wild Irish can agree,
My 'Pilgrim' should familiar with them be."

Welsh versions were published in London in 1688, and in Shrewsbury, in 1699, a Swedish version at Gotheberg, in 1743, and a Polish, in 1728. All the rest came later, and were born out of the missionary movement of the nineteenth century. The earliest of these later ones, which was also the most affecting in its history, was that prepared for the native Christians of Madagascar by the Rev. D. Johns, one of the first missionaries who carried the Gospel to that island. This version is said to be strongly idiomatic, and in literary quality to stand deservedly high. The Allegory itself was a great solace to these native Christians during the long and terrible night of persecution by which their faith was tried. It was printed on paper the same size as that of their New Testaments, and was often bound up with them, as the "Shepherd of Hermas" was with the canonical Scriptures of the Early Christians.

The book which thus so soon and so truly made a home for itself in one mission field, gradually spread,

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and is spreading to others. It has been published in ninety-five languages and dialects. It is found in *Europe*: in Welsh, Gaelic, Irish, German, Dutch, Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, Lithuanian, Finnish, Lettish, Esthonian, Russ, Eskimo, Servian, Bulgarian, Bohemian, Roumanian, Slavonian, Hungarian, and Polish; in French, Breton, Italian, Spanish, Judæo-Spanish, Portuguese, and Romaic or modern Greek. In *Asia*, it may be met with in Hebrew, Arabic, Modern Syriac, Armeno-Turkish, Greco-Turkish, Persian, and Armenian. Farther to the South also, it is seen in Pashtu or Afghani, and in the great Empire of India it is found in various forms. It has been translated into Hindustani or Urdu, Bengali, Uriya or Orissa, Hindi, Sindhi, Punjabi or Sikh, Telugu, Canarese, Tamil, Malayalam, Marathi-Balbodh, Gujarati, Santhali, and Singhalese. In Indo-Chinese countries there are versions of it in Assamese, Khasi, Burmese, and Sgau-Karen. It has been given to the Dyaks of Borneo, to the Malays, to the Malagasy, to the Japanese, to the Coreans, the Hainanese, and to the many-millions of people of China in various dialects both classical and colloquial. It has found its way into *Western and Central Africa* in Efik, Gâ, Kisi-Kongo, Chinyanja, Fanti, Luganda, Ki-Swahili, Amharic, Othshi or Ashanti, Otyiherero, Yoruba, and Dualla; and in the southern regions of that great continent, in Kaffir, Sechuana, and Sesuto. Among the *Pacific Islands*, it has been translated into Raratongan, Tahitian, Maori, Fijian, Hawaiian, and Aneityumese. And, finally, in our attempt to girdle the earth with the Pilgrim story, passing to the

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American continent we find it printed recently in a new form among the Mexicans of the South, and given to the Cree Indians, and to those also of Dakota in the North.

In some cases the people have themselves taken active part in the production of the versions referred to. The Kaffir copy in my possession was translated by Tiyo Soga, a native of Kaffirland, who was educated in Scotland, in connection with the Free Church Mission; and as far as the manual work was concerned, it was neatly printed and bound by Kaffir lads in the Lovedale Mission Seminary. The Ashanti version also, printed in 1885, is simply the revision by Mr. Christaller of the Basle Missionary Society of a translation made many years ago by two natives of Akropong. It is interesting also to notice that the Chinese version, in the Canton vernacular, sent forth by the Rev. G. Piercy of the Wesleyan Mission, is illustrated by a series of pictures both drawn and engraved by Chinese artists. In these, Christian appears in Chinese costume, the House Beautiful as a Chinese pagoda, and all the scenes and incidents in a garb familiar to the people for whom the book is intended. Before leaving the subject of these versions, it should be noticed that this book of Bunyan's, which has contributed so largely to the sacred cause of Christian unity, is in its very production a manifestation of the spirit to which it has contributed. It is pleasant to find that it has been translated and published under the auspices of missionaries connected with the Church, London, Baptist, Wesleyan, and United Free Church Presby-

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terian Missionary Societies; also of those sent forth by the American Board of Foreign Missions, the German Mission, and the Basle Missionary Society. It has also been printed in India by the Christian Knowledge Society and by the Punjab Religious Book Society of Lahore.

Apart from the religious influence exerted by the "Pilgrim," the book has become a classic in the general literature of many of the peoples to whom it has been given. Mr. Pearce of Canton says that not only is the copy in the Canton Vernacular regarded by his committee as one of the best books in their depository, a favourite work with the native preachers, and read in Christian families, but it is also taught in the native schools, and he has seen, he says, Chinese who knew or cared little for Christianity poring over the "Pilgrim's Progress" with interest and delight.* A Syrian gentleman, also (Antonius Ameuny), writing to an English lady concerning the Arabic version of the "Pilgrim's Progress," says: "The book has now become a classical one. It is read in all the American schools throughout Syria. Copies of it have gone into Arabia, Mesopotamia, India, Egypt, and the Coast of Barbary." A monk at Beirut, as he called upon him in his cell, said: "I read this book during the long winter evenings, and feel quite delighted to think that your Protestant friends have *at least one good book* to offer us." He climbed up into the bower of one of the watchmen over the vineyards, during the season of grapes,

* Letter to the author from Rev. J. W. Pearce, Canton, June 1883.

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and found among other Arabic books, a well-used copy of the "Pilgrim's Progress." Explaining why the book was so well used, the man Nicola said: "Such a book was never made for you men who live in cities, who are ambitious, rich, and luxurious; but I who live in this tree for three months in the year—I see the sun rise in majesty in the morning, and go down in power in the evening; I see the moon appear in glory, and set in splendour—with ante-Lebanon for my habitation—and Lebanon, Hermon, and Iulan around me—I have need of such a book; I can understand it." *

Passing now from Editions, Versions, and Illustrations, we come next to *Imitations* of the "Pilgrim's Progress." This brings us at once to the consideration of the spurious Third Part which continued to be sold till quite recent times along with the First and Second. It made its appearance in 1693, and although the title-page does not directly say it was written by Bunyan, the book virtually claimed to be; for it was described as "The Third Part, to which is added The Life and Death of John Bunyan, Author of the First and Second Part; thus compleating the whole Progress;" the preface also was signed J. B., and the book itself begins with these words: "After the two former Dreams concerning Christian and Christiana his wife. . . . I fell asleep again, and the Visions of my Head returned upon me: I dreamed another Dream, &c." It was a piece of sharp practice in which we find once more implicated our old

* Appendix to "Le Pèlerinage de l'homme," p. lxii. *et seq.*

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friend J. Blare, of the Looking-glass on London Bridge. The public were the more readily deceived because Bunyan had himself given a sort of half-promise of a Third Part. The concluding words of the Second Part, it will be remembered, are these: "Shall it be my lot to go that way again, I may give those that desire it, an account of what I here am silent about; meantime I bid my Reader Farewell." Indeed, if his publisher may be trusted, Bunyan had got the work under way before his death. He says: "The Third Part now abroad was not done by Bunyan. But *the true copy left by him* will be published by Nat. Ponder." This definite statement was somewhat modified shortly after. On the reverse of the title of the thirteenth edition of the First Part, 1693, there is this advertisement: "The Pilgrim's Progress: The Third Part: in a Dream, Printed in 1692, is an Impostor thrust into the world by a nameless author, and would insinuate to the Buyers that 'tis Bunyan's, by adding a false Account of his Life and Death, not compleating the work as is said, &c. The Skeleton of his Design and the main of his Book Done by him as a Third Part remains with Nath. Ponder; which when convenient time serves shall be Published." If there really were anything like a Third Part written by Bunyan, it seems never to have seen the light, and the spurious pretender held on its way, having a considerable sale. It was dishonest in its claim to authorship and was evidently intended in an unworthy way to trade upon Bunyan's reputation; otherwise it was not without a certain amount of

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interest and literary power.* It sets forth the adventures of a pilgrim named Tender Conscience, going over much of the ground Bunyan had gone over before.

This Third Part was followed by many other imitations. Some of these were put forth for sectarian purposes, and we have "The Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity," and "From Methodism to Christianity." About 1685 there was a burlesque allegory, entitled "A Hue and Cry after Conscience, or the Pilgrim's Progress by Candle-light." Some were made the vehicles of political satire, instruction, or warning. "The Statesman's Progress, or a Pilgrimage to Greatness," was aimed at Sir Robert Walpole and his mode of corrupting Parliament by bribes. Under the name of Badman, Walpole is represented as going to Greatness Hall, where grew the Golden Pippins, by aid of which he exercises absolute sway. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the sister of Sir James Bland Burgess wrote a book of warning against those principles of Reform of which, in the days following upon the French Revolution, conservative people were so timidly afraid. This work was entitled, "Progress of the Pilgrim Good-Intent in Jacobinical Times." It went through several editions, being thought a good and safe book

* A striking extract from this book relating to our "endowment with different faculties suitable and proportional to the different objects that engage them," is prefixed by Professors Stewart and Tait to their joint work entitled, "The Unseen Universe." Macmillan & Co. 1876.

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for parish libraries. On the other side, in favour of Reform, we have "The Political Pilgrim's Progress,"* in which a Pilgrim sets out from the City of Plunder, with a heavy burden on his back labelled "Taxes." He is bent on finding the City of Reform, and his going forth on pilgrimage thither makes great talk among his neighbours; some of them maintaining that there is no such place as Reform, others saying there is, but that it is a long way off, and the way thither is perilous. As he goes he meets with Worldly Wiseman, who reproves him for being discontented, telling him that all people cannot be rich; others try to persuade him that his load is a great benefit to him and that he would be uneasy without it. In the course of his travels two men, named Temporary and Expediency, try to mislead him by short cuts; he has a life and death grapple with the Apollyon of Political Corruption; and he passes through Vanity Fair, where pensions, places, and decorations are offered for the purpose of keeping up the existing system. Eventually, after many a shrewd brush and stern experience, he reaches the City of Reform, the place of his desire, where Taxes are all but unknown and every man breathes the air of freedom.

There have been other imitations, such as "The Drunkard's Progress from Drouth to the Dead Sea," by John Bunyan, Junr. (1853); "The Pilgrim's Progress from the Town of Deceit to the Kingdom of Glory" (1790); *Iter Cœleste*; "The Sailor Pilgrim" (1806); "Zion's Pilgrim" (1808); "The

* Newcastle upon-Tyne: Office of the *Liberator*, 1839.

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Infant's Progress," by Mrs. Sherwood (1823); "The Travels of Humanitas in Search of the Temple of Happiness" (1809); and Benjamin Keach's "Travels of True Godliness" (1684); "A New Pilgrimage to the New Jerusalem," by W. Shrubsole, is meant to be, under assumed names, a description of the state of religion in England in the times of Whitefield and Wesley. Similar in purpose and with special doctrinal intent, we have "The Female Pilgrim, or the Travels of Hephzibah"; "Pilgrims of the Nineteenth Century; a continuation of the Pilgrim's Progress," by Joseph Ivimey (1827); "Magdalena's Voyages and Travels through the Kingdom of this World into the Kingdom of Grace," a work illustrated by three curious symbolical maps; and "The Pilgrimage of Theophilus to the City of God." There have also been several other works of a similar kind, but they were, for the most part, the outcome of the dullest mediocrity, and it is scarcely necessary to lift them again into the light.

Two later works of more ability and opposite character are "The Sojourn of a Sceptic in the Land of Darkness and Uncertainty, between the Land of Original Impressions and the City of Strongholds in the Kingdom of Light"; and "An Agnostic's Progress from the Known to the Unknown." In a travesty of the "Pilgrim's Progress," under the title of "The Celestial Railroad," Nathaniel Hawthorne, some years ago, satirised what he thought the softer fibre of the religious life of our time, as contrasted with the days of Bunyan. He found, on visiting the City of Destruction, in a dream, that there was now

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a railroad between that place and the Celestial City, so that a pilgrim's progress was by no means the stern experience it used to be. The Slough of Despond was converted into firm ground; there was no need of any stopping-place at the House of the Interpreter; the Hill Difficulty had been tunnelled through and the Valley of Humiliation levelled up. Between the townsmen of Vanity Fair and the pilgrims, too, there was now a very good understanding and considerable traffic. The silver mine of Demas also was worked by them to great advantage, and Doubting Castle was quite an airy-looking edifice, built in the most modern style. There was even a steam ferry-boat over the bridgeless river, to which, however, there was this one drawback, that no one knew whether it ever reached the city on the other side or not. For at this point the Dreamer awoke and had, therefore, no more to relate.

Besides imitations and burlesques of the "Pilgrim's Progress," there have also been numerous abridgments, John Wesley publishing one in 1774; and there were several editions that were supposed to be amended and improved. We naturally expect that Roman Catholics would leave out Giant Pope from the version authorised by them, but it does seem a little superfluous to put forth an edition for the purpose of improving the English of the book. An excellent but mistaken clergyman, Joshua Gilpin, vicar of Wrockwardine, published at Wellington, in 1811, what he calls, "a new and corrected edition, in which the phraseology of the author is somewhat improved, some of his obscurities elucidated, and

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some of his redundancies done away." It is needless to say that the book was not so much improved as weakened, and that it remains an illustration of the degenerate taste of even educated people in the days in which it saw the light. This work of the good vicar of Wrockwardine, who with all his heart believed the truths that Bunyan believed, was harmless and well meant, however, when compared with the audacious treatment the "Pilgrim's Progress" received later at the hands of another clergyman of the English Church, the Rev. J. M. Neale, warden of Sackville College.* This gentleman coolly set about making Bunyan say what he believes Bunyan would have said if only he had been as enlightened as he ought to have been. "The Editor," he says, "cannot be called dishonest for making his author speak what he believes, that with more knowledge, that author would have said." In pursuance of this piece of jesuitry, he introduces baptism as the means of spiritual lift; placing a well in the garden at the Wicket Gate, into which Christian dips himself three times, "the which when he had done, he was changed into another man, moreover"—here at the baptismal well, not at the cross as Bunyan has it—"his burden fell from his back." There are other changes besides: Giant Pope is turned into Giant Mahometan; Worldly Wiseman and Legality are left out; the scene in the House Beautiful is turned into the ceremony of Con-

* "The Pilgrim's Progress of John Bunyan, for the Use of Children in the English Church." Edited by the Rev. J. M. Neale, M.A., Warden of Sackville College, Oxford. J. H. Parker, 1853.

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firmation and of first Communion; and the dusty room in the House of Interpreter is made the symbol of the heart of a man who was never regenerated by baptism. The statement of the changes thus made in another man's book is the most effective indictment of the man who made them. This attempt to foist upon an author opinions directly contrary to those he was known to hold, caused some stir, and called forth, among others, a remonstrance with the title of "The Pilgrim: or John Bunyan's Apparition in the Bedroom of the Rev. J. M. Neale." There have been other editions of the "Pilgrim's Progress" of a more reputable sort for children and young people, Isaac Taylor, of Ongar, leading the way as early as 1825, with his "Bunyan explained to a Child," illustrated with a hundred engravings. We have "The Child's Bunyan," "The Pilgrim's Progress in words of One Syllable," "The Pilgrim Children," and picture-cards and toybooks, with coloured plates illustrative of the work. There have also been, what seems quite unnecessary, many poetical versions of the "Pilgrim's Progress." The Dream is a poem as it is, and for such a book to be "metrically condensed" into cantos, to be "rendered into blank verse," or "into familiar verse," "converted into an epic," or "done into verse," is to be dragged down from sublimity to mediocrity or even lower.

Finally, besides thus coming out in versions innumerable, poetical, and otherwise, the "Pilgrim" has once at least taken dramatic form, after the manner of the old mediæval mystery plays. In June 1877, the poet and novelist, George Macdonald, assisted

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by his family, gave on behalf of a National Orphan Fund, and before the Princess Louise, a series of illustrative scenes from the Second Part of the "Pilgrim's Progress," which were very successfully rendered.

It has sometimes been thought that Bunyan's cordial reception by the great arbiters of literature is of comparatively recent date ; that, as Macaulay puts it : " The ' Pilgrim's Progress ' is, perhaps, the only book about which, after the lapse of a hundred years, the educated minority has come over to the opinion of the common people." Cowper's lines about Bunyan :

" I name thee not lest so despised a name
Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame,"

have contributed not a little to this impression. But by a fair amount of evidence on the other side, a recent writer has shown that we must not follow Cowper too implicitly in this matter.* There were no doubt writers like Cox who, in his account of Bedfordshire, complained that Bunyan's books were " too frequently met with in the hands of the common people," and others, later, who thought the Pilgrim " jejune "—that was the word in those days. It is true also that Dr. Young compared Bunyan's prose with the poetry of the wretched D'Urfey ; that Addison said disparagingly, that he never knew an author that had not his admirers, for Bunyan and Quarles pleased as many readers as Dryden and Tillotson ; and that Mrs. Montagu, after her manner,

* *Saturday Review*, August 1880.

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following in the wake of Addison, called Bunyan and Quarles "those classics of the artificers in leather," laughing at them as "forming the particular entertainment of her neighbours, the Kentish squires." But it is also true that there is on the other side the great authority of Dr. Johnson himself, who said that Bunyan's book was one of the three which all their readers wished had been longer. Madame Piozzi also, writing four or five years later than Cowper, classes Bunyan with Correggio, and asks, "Who shall dare say that Lillo, Bunyan, and Antonio Correggio were not *naturally* equal to Johnson, Michael Angelo, and the Archbishop of Cambrai?" Horace Walpole, no mean authority in literary taste, evidently thinks he is paying Edmund Spenser a compliment when he speaks of him as "John Bunyan in rhyme." Hearne, the antiquary, tells us how his friend, Bagford, went down into the country to see Bunyan for himself. Writers in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1741 and 1765), ventured to say that, "there never was an allegory better designed or better supported," that "the 'Pilgrim's Progress' is a work of original and uncommon genius;" and even Dean Swift says, "I have been better entertained and more informed by a few pages in the 'Pilgrim's Progress' than by a long discussion upon the will and the intellect, and simple or complex ideas."

It will be seen that Professor De Morgan, in saying "all honour to Granger" for this, was mistaken in supposing that he was the first man of literary standing who spoke of Bunyan appreciatively; but Granger also said that the "Pilgrim's Progress" is

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“one of the most popular and, I may add, one of the most ingenious books in the English language;” backing up this opinion of his by that of his friend Merrick, who thought Bunyan had not a little of Homer’s power, and by that of a similar opinion held by Dr. Roberts, a Fellow of Eton College. This is a considerable consensus of opinion on the part of the intellectual world of last century, and it was sustained, as we have seen, by the two weighty names of Wieland and Schiller. Doubtless, there were in those days learned men ignorant of Bunyan’s intellectual claims; but so there have been since Macaulay said that the educated minority has, on this question, come over to the opinion of the common people. Thackeray used to tell, as only he could, how he once went down to Oxford, to give his lectures on the English Humorists, and, in order to prepare the way for the attendance of the undergraduates, waited on the Heads of Colleges. Among others upon whom he called was Dr. Plumptre, Master of University, who it seems had not heard of the great novelist, and therefore asked him who he was and what he had written? By way of furnishing his credentials, Thackeray modestly intimated that he was the author of “Vanity Fair.” Upon this, the Master at once turned round upon him suspiciously with the remark that there must be some mistake somewhere, for that John Bunyan was the author of “Vanity Fair!” Finding afterwards that people were laughing, Plumptre explained to a friend, from whom I had the story, that he had not read Bunyan’s book, “never being a reader of novels.”

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Over against this story of the Oxford don we must, however, set the fact that Bunyan has nevertheless been duly honoured from the chair of the professor of Ecclesiastical History in that university to which Plumptre belonged. In his Address at the Bunyan Celebration, in Bedford, in 1874, Dean Stanley said :

“ When (if I may for a moment speak of myself) in early youth I lighted on the passage where the Pilgrim is taken to the House Beautiful to see ‘ the pedigree of the Ancient of Days, and the rarities and histories of that place, both ancient and modern,’ I determined that if ever the time should arrive when I should become a professor of ecclesiastical history, these should be the opening words in which I would describe the treasures of that magnificent storehouse. Accordingly when, many years after, it so fell out, I could find no better mode of beginning my course at Oxford than by redeeming that early pledge ; and when the course came to an end, and I wished to draw a picture of the prospects yet reserved for the future of Christendom, I found again that the best words I could supply were those in which, on leaving the Beautiful House, Christian was shown in the distance the view of the Delectable Mountains, ‘ which, they said, would add to his comfort because they were nearer to the desired haven.’ ”

These words of Dean Stanley’s were spoken on the memorable occasion when the statue of Bunyan, executed by J. E. Boehm and presented by the Duke of Bedford to Bedford town, was unveiled by Lady Augusta Stanley, 1874. A recumbent monument, designed and executed by E. C. Papworth, had, by a

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Committee of which the Earl of Shaftesbury was President, been placed over Bunyan's tomb in Bunhill Fields, in 1862.* The statue erected in Bedford, however, was a yet nobler creation of the sculptor's art, and the public celebration connected with its unveiling will long be remembered as an occasion when men in all ranks of life and of all diversities of religious opinion joined together in doing honour to the memory of one who, perhaps more than any other Englishman, is the representative of all that is most central in the Christian faith. Presided over by the Mayor of the town, the great assembly gathered on that occasion from all parts of the United Kingdom, and containing representatives from America and the British Colonies, was addressed by Earl Cowper as Lord Lieutenant of the County; by Mr. Whitbread, who was not only the Parliamentary representative of the borough, but also the representative of ancestors who, as we have seen, were personally associated with Bunyan himself; by Dr. Brock and Dr. Allon as standing for the great body of the Nonconformists; and by Dean Stanley as representing the National Church. The Dean, with his wide catholic sympathies, was never more truly himself than when, as on this occasion, seeking to atone by large-minded utterances for the injustice wrought two centuries before by the Church

* Besides this monument in Bunhill Fields and the statue in Bedford, two memorial windows have recently been placed in the chancel of Elstow Church, the one presenting scenes from the "Pilgrim's Progress," the other from the "Holy War."

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to which he belonged. He himself had, at the request of the donor of the statue, selected the subjects for the bas-reliefs of the pedestal; she who was the inspiring influence of his public life, had performed the ceremony of unveiling; and it was he who gave the one distinctive tone to the gathering of the day. He showed how Bunyan was great as the man and the preacher, but greater still as the dear teacher of the childhood of each of us, as the creator of those characters whose names and faces are familiar to the whole world; as the writer of one of the few books which act as a religious bond to the whole of English Christendom. The pilgrimage Bunyan described is, he said, the pilgrimage of every one of us, and the combination of neighbours, friends, and enemies whom he saw in his dream, are the same as we see in our actual lives. We have met, nay, we have ourselves been, the people he describes:

“All of us need to be cheered by the help of Greatheart, and Standfast, and Valiant for the Truth, and good old Honest. Some of us have been in Doubting Castle, some in the Slough of Despond, some have experienced the temptations of Vanity Fair; all of us have to climb the Hill Difficulty, all of us need to be instructed by the Interpreter in the House Beautiful; all of us bear the same burden; all of us need the same armour in our fight with Apollyon; all of us have to pass through the wicket gate, all of us have to pass through the dark river; and for all of us (if God so will) there wait the Shining Ones at the gates of the Celestial City,

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‘which, when we see, we wish ourselves amongst them.’ ”

The task we have undertaken draws to its close. There remains but the expression of the hope that we may each of us take to his own life the lesson of the life-story we have followed; the lesson that through all opposing force of ill we should each be true to our better selves, true to the light which comes to each man from heaven, and true to the generation in the midst of which it was ordained that our own life-work should be wrought. The history of the past fails of its deepest purpose if it holds up no guiding light to the present. In stirring lines called forth by the Bunyan Celebration of 1874, it may be said that :

“ To deal with the Past is of small concern ;
That light for the day's life is each day's need,
That the Tinker-Teacher has sown his seed ;
And we want our Bunyan to show the way
Through the Sloughs of Despond that are round us to-day,
Our guide for straggling souls to wait,
And lift the latch of the wicket-gate.

“ The Churches now debate and wrangle,
Strange doubts theology entangle :
Each sect to the other doth freedom grudge,
Archbishop asks ruling of a judge.
Why comes no pilgrim, with eye of fire,
To tell us where pointeth minster spire,
To show, though critics may sneer and scoff,
The path to ‘ The Land that is very far off ’ ?
The People are weary of vestment vanities,
Of litigation about inanities,
And fain would listen, O Preacher and Peer,

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To a voice like that of this Tinker-Seer ;
Who guided the Pilgrim up, beyond
The Valley of Death, and the Slough of Despond,
And Doubting Castle, and Giant Despair,
To those Delectable Mountains fair,
And over the River, and in at the Gate,
Where for weary Pilgrims the Angels wait ! ”

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BUNYAN'S WORKS

Some Gospel Truths Opened	1656
A Vindication of Some Gospel Truths Opened	1657
Sighs from Hell	1658
The Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded	1659
Profitable Meditations	1661
I will Pray with the Spirit and with the Under- standing	1663
Christian Behaviour	1663
A Map showing the Order of Salvation	1664
The Four Last Things	1665
Ebal and Gerizim	1665
The Holy City	1665
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Life and Death of Mr. Badman	1680

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The Water of Life	1688
Solomon's Temple Spiritualised	1688

POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATIONS

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The House of the Forest of Lebanon	1692
Of Antichrist and his Ruine	1692
The Heavenly Footman	1696
A Relation of the Imprisonment of Mr John Bunyan	1705

FOREIGN VERSIONS OF THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

Amharic, 1822 . Aneityumese, 1880 . Arabic, 1834 . Modern
Armenian, 1882 . Armenio-Turkish, 1881 . Assamese, 1856 .

PERSONAL RELICS

Bengali, 1821; Bohemian, 1871; Breton, 1886; Bulgarian, 1866; Burmese, 1841; Canarese, 1861; *Chinese* versions (including Wenli or Classical, 1874; Mandarin or Court Dialect, 1872; Canton Vernacular, 1870-1; Amoy Dialect, 1865; Swatow, Romanised Colloquial, Ningpo Colloquial, 1874); Chinyanja; Cree Indian, 1886; Dakota, 1858; Danish, 1862; Dualla; Dutch, 1682; Dyak, 1879; Efik, (Old Calabar), Part I., 1868, Part II., 1882; Eskimo, 1901; Esthonian, 1870; Fanti, 1887; Fijian, 1867; Finnish; French, 1685; Formosan, Colloquial (for the Blind); ditto, Romanised; Ga, or Accra, West Africa, 1901; Gaelic, 1812; German, 1703; Modern Greek, 1824; Greco-Turkish, 1879; Gujurati; Hawaiian, 1842; Hebrew, 1844; Hindi; Hungarian, 1867; Icelandic, 1876; Irish, 1837; Italian, 1851; Japanese, 1887; Judæo-Spanish; Kafir, 1868; Khasi; Kisi-Kongo, 1901; Ki-Swahili; Korean; Lettish; Lithuanian, 1878; Luganda, 1896; Malagasy, 1838; Malay, 1854; Malayalam, 1847; Maori, 1854; Marathi-Balbodh; Matabele, 1902; Mexican, 1880; Norsk, 1868; Oriya, 1873; Otyiherero, 1873; Polish, 1728; Portuguese, 1782; Persian; Punjābī or Sikh, 1843; Pushtu, or Afghani, 1871; Raratongan, 1846; Romaic, 1824; Russian, 1881; Sechuana, 1848; Servian, 1879; Sesuto, 1877; Sgau-Karen, 1863; Sindhi; Singhalese, 1826; Spanish, 1851; Swedish, 1743; Slavonian, 1871; Modern Syriac, 1848; Tahitian, 1847; Tamil, 1793; Telugu, 1882; Tshi or Ashantee, 1885; Urdu or Hindustani, 1841; Roman Urdu; Persian Urdu; Welsh, 1688; Yoruba.

PERSONAL RELICS OF BUNYAN

I. In the custody of the minister of Bunyan Meeting, the Manse, Bedford, are preserved:—

- (1) The Church Book, containing entries in Bunyan's handwriting.
- (2) Bunyan's Will.
- (3) Bunyan's Cabinet and Staff, formerly in the possession of his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Bithrey

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